

***A STUDY OF GENDER EQUALITY IN ONE OF SWAZILAND'S
SECONDARY SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY.***

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Dorothy S. Tsabedze

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own original work and has not been previously submitted in whole or in part for the award of any degree, nor will be at any other institution. I further declare that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Signature

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Date

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of my investigation was to study gender equality in one of Swaziland's secondary schools. This was a case study. The aim was to determine the extent to which gender equality was being practised, if at all. The study was based on socialization theories presented by some feminists. The theories discussed in this thesis are the Liberal feminist theory, the Socialist feminist theory, the Radical feminist theory, the Psychoanalytic feminist theory, the Postmodern feminist theory and the Third World feminist theory. Feminists believe that early socialization and sex-stereotyped attitudes about boys and girls have a fundamental effect on the processes of education in relation to teaching style and methodology and the way in which learning is negotiated by boys and girls. Feminists believe that the teachers as well as their fellow male students usually marginalize girls at school.

In this case study a school in urban Swaziland was selected. Questionnaires, interviews, observations and desktop study were used in collecting data from a sample of students, teachers and parents. For the purpose of observation I remained at the school for a week. The data was analyzed using the content analysis method which allowed for the categorization of the results. The material was analyzed according to the following:

- i. Subject choice
- ii. Classroom interaction
- iii. Extra-curricula activities
- iv. Gender preference
- v. Gender equality

From the responses given by the students, teachers and parents, my conclusion was that all the three parties were aware of the importance of gender equality in the school. However, this awareness was at the liberal feminist level. Although there was evidence of deep-seated patriarchal assumptions, the responses did not lend themselves to analysis through the other feminist theories. Nevertheless, at a liberal feminist level, which emphasizes access and fair participation, the case study rendered hopeful results.

Some of my recommendations, therefore, were that there should be more awareness raising activities, such as workshops, not only in this school, but in other schools as well, to push the level of consciousness around questions of gender sensitivity to deeper levels.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study has been motivated by my interest in women's issues from a very early age. At home, I was always intrigued by the way my mother had no differential treatment for my brothers and my sisters and I. There were no special duties for boys and girls, unlike in other families. For example, my elder brother would cook for us and also wash our clothes. Now that I come to think of it, she was consciously or unconsciously practicing gender equality.

But I suppose mine was an exceptional case. As I grew up, I began to take more interest in the unjust manner that women generally are treated, at home and in the work place. I particularly took exception to the marginalization of women on issues such as career choice and promotion to administrative positions in the workplace. For example, my first career choice was being a doctor, but at that time this was regarded as a man's job. I was frustrated and furious, but I needed a job and therefore had to be content with the second choice of being a teacher. Again, when I started teaching I was staying with one of my nephews. People, including some of the teachers, were surprised when they found him washing his clothes or cooking. They felt I was supposed to be doing these duties. I was frustrated and sometimes felt guilty and questioned my actions. Now I realize the effects of societal influence on one's practices. But, as culture would have it, Swazi women, including myself, and like other African women elsewhere, do not question these social injustices towards them. They have been socialized to accept their inferior status.

Later, when I became a teacher, I also began to realize the discriminatory manner teachers treat their students. Of particular concern to me was the issue of subject choice. I could not understand why boys, for example, could not do subjects like Home Economics or Needlework, and why girls could not do Agriculture or Metalwork. I became more interested in the plight of the "girl child", especially at school.

This is, therefore, a study of practices of teachers, students and parents and their responses to gender equality in one of the secondary schools in Swaziland. The study has been designed into five chapters.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

In chapter two I discuss the background to the study, particularly the marginal position of women in Swaziland. I have taken particular cognizance of the following issues:

- Women in the family.
- Women and the legal system.
- Women and land acquisition.
- Women and the workplace
- Women and the schools
- Some interventions towards women's emancipation

In this chapter I have also defined some terms that are used in the context of this study.

In chapter three I discuss some of the feminist theories concerning gender equality or inequality in society in general and in the schools in particular. The approaches discussed are:

- Liberal feminism
- Socialist feminism
- Radical feminism
- Psychoanalytic feminism
- Postmodern feminism
- Third world feminism

Chapter four deals with the literature review I did as reference for my arguments in my study. These include books, journals, reports as well as papers presented at conferences. The literature is viewed with particular reference to what other

researchers say about the position of women in society in general, and schooling in particular.

Chapter five discusses the research design and methodology used for this study. I mention that this is a case study and briefly explained what a case study is.

Chapter six carries an analysis of the data I collected for my study. The data is analyzed under the following themes:

- Subject choice
- Classroom interaction
- Extra-curricular activities
- Students' / teachers' gender preference
- Gender equality

In chapter seven I outline my conclusions, which consist of reflections on the preceding chapters. I also state the limitations of my study and make some recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. RESEARCH TOPIC

A STUDY OF GENDER EQUALITY IN ONE OF SWAZILAND'S SECONDARY SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY.

2.2. RESEARCH AIMS

The purpose of this study is to achieve the following aims:

- To determine the extent to which gender equality is practiced at the school.
- To investigate responses of a sample of students, teachers and parents to gender equality in the school.
- To observe and evaluate teaching and administrative practices in selected contexts in the school.

2.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There is a common belief, and also denial, worldwide, that there is gross inequality in the way men and women are treated by society. Friedan (1965) is cited by Perumal (1997) as saying, "it was a demoralizing problem- a problem with no name. The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of...women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered... Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children... lay beside her husband at night- she was afraid to ask even the silent question- 'is this all?'" (Friedan, 1965:13). However, according to Perumal, this problem has been named. The problem is male supremacy; a contagion cultivated in the political

economy of gender relations. 'Discrimination on the basis of gender is grievously the most socially accepted form of oppression' (Perumal, 1997).

2.4. THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SWAZILAND

Although my study is centred on the issue of gender equality in the schools, it is proper to briefly describe the position of women in Swaziland. Swazi women, myself included, have also been, for ages, faced with this 'problem with no name'. Until recently, it has been taboo for a woman to question male 'supremacy' in Swaziland.

Swazi women have a very low status, economically, politically and socially. But this is not a unique case for Swaziland. Hleta- Nkambule (2001) has observed that the status of women everywhere is generally low. This observation is also reiterated by Rowland and Scannel (1994) who state that, "men have economic, political and cultural power. Women do not. Men control public life while women occupy the resigned marginal spaces of private life and domesticity" (Rowland and Scannel, 1994:169). Hlanze and Mkhabela also reiterate this by saying, "Women have always been identified with the private sphere and men with the public, resulting in discrimination. Women are expected to uphold the very traditions and cultural life that perpetuates this discrimination" (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 25).

This discrimination arises from the African beliefs and traditional and religious customs, which ensure that men should dominate. Swazi women, particularly rural women, have been socialized not to challenge or question male dominance. This can be evidenced by the advice a bride is given when she gets married. The older women advising her will stress the importance of obeying her husband and doing what he says.

Rustin (1996) says the same thing about South African women: "Before getting married, a woman is advised on how to treat her husband well" (Rustin, 1996:100). In fact, a woman who showed a hint of questioning her husband's authority would even be sent home by her in-laws, for her to have a 'talking to' by her people. This is also the case with church weddings. The minister often reads scriptures that require the women to obey their husbands.

2.4.1. Women in the family

As far as the family is concerned, patriarchy and gender relations are important elements of the family structure. An article written by the Women and the Law in Southern Africa Research Trust (WLSA) in 1998 pointed out that “the nature of the Swazi society determines that for a family to exist, there has to be a male head, otherwise the arrangement is not recognized as a family but a household” (WLSA, 1998: 6-7).

Swazi women, rural or urban, are expected to take stereotypically traditional female roles, such as cooking, washing, taking care of the family and generally managing the household duties. For educated women, this is in addition to their professional roles.

This situation is not unique for Swazi women. Rustin (1996) says this about her growing up as a South African woman:

- “This is not a story about families and daughters, but about patriarchy and growing up a woman in South African society” (Rustin, 1996:99).
- “This does not stem from the unequal relationship between children and parents, but from patriarchy and the sex-role socialization of women” (Rustin, 1996: 99).
- “I have, to a great degree, not been living a life that I would choose for myself were it not for my parents and community” (Rustin, 1996: 99).

2.4.2. Women and the legal system

The situation of the Swazi women is further compounded by the dual legal system, which has been cited as one of the hindrances to the advancement of equal opportunity. There is the common law, adopted from the Dutch law, used by the magistrates’ courts and higher courts. Then there is the Swazi customary law, which is used in the Swazi courts. This always complicates the issue of women’s rights. Hleta- Nkambule (2001) argues that Swazi law and customs heavily favour males. According to her, a woman who marries under customary law is subject to her husband’s marital power. She says that the law ensures that, “The men will always occupy superior positions to their subordinates- the women” (Hleta- Nkambule, 2001:13).

According to Hlanze and Mkhabela, (1998) “customary law dictates to women what they should do, how they should conduct themselves in relation to their marriage and that they never own anything” (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 24). They go on to say that “marriage in community of property gives the husband marital power which means he becomes overall administrator of the joint estate. This affects the woman because she does not have any decision- making powers” (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 24).

Samuels (1999) argues that African women who are in customary marriages have never enjoyed the rights enjoyed by other citizens. She further states that, “women suffer under legal systems in several ways... often it is the actual content of the law which affects them, particularly laws on marriage and divorce, custody of children, land and employment. At times it is the administration of the law which obstructs their access to the courts and opportunity to discover what their rights are under the law” (Samuels, 1999: 23).

2.4.3. Women and land acquisition

As far as land acquisition and financial assistance is concerned, women cannot secure bank loans without the consent or signature of their husbands or any other male. Hlanze and Mkhabela (1998) argue that, “ Contrary to global trends and universal pronouncements, women in Swaziland continue to remain legal minors. This inferior status has pervasive impact, on women’s access to family and community resources, such as land, and inhibits their capacity to enter business contracts” (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 23). These legal barriers, they argue, derail the promotion of social justice and equity.

2.4.4. Women and the workplace

Male supremacy has also been an accepted practice at the work place, in both the public and private sector. Until recently, no matter how capable a woman was, she would never be promoted to a managerial position, and even now, there are very few

women who hold senior managerial positions. Even those few are regarded with suspicion or are not given the due respect they deserve.

Until the mid 70s, the salaries of men and women were also not equal, even if they did the same job. The man's salary was always more than the woman's salary. Even then women did not question this practice. To them, this was acceptable. They were paid less because they were women. It was after recommendations by several salary-review commissions that men and women received equal salaries for equal work (The first was the Wamalwa commission of 1977).

About the situation in South Africa Strong (1996) discusses what she calls 'feminization of poverty' in Riverlea, and argues that, "women are hard hit by economic need because of their marginal position in the labour market and in society" (Strong, 1996: 68). She goes on to say that, "One reason advanced for the feminization of poverty is that women are excluded from the allocation of resources" (Strong, 1996: 69). She further argues that, "The majority of female-headed households - particularly those with children - live below the poverty line. The poverty of these households has been attributed to the marginal position of women in the labour market, where they occupy low-income and low-status jobs" (Strong, 1996: 70).

2.4.5. Women and the schools

Dlamini- Khumalo (2000) states that, culturally, in the past girls were not given a chance to go to school. They remained at home and did household duties while boys went to school. This, according to her, indicated that the gender bias had existed for some decades. Customarily, a girl was not allowed to go to school. The culture did not see the importance of wasting money on girls' education: the girl had to marry and look after her family (Dlamini- Khumalo, 2000: 22). But, she says, due to societal change, girls are now more likely than boys to get a chance to go to school. However, ultimately, men are higher achievers than women. This, according to Dlamini- Khumalo, is due to the stigmatization of jobs, sex stereotyped jobs and women's home commitments. Thus men always want to be above women and will not opt for any career associated with women (Dlamini- Khumalo, 2000:22).

Nevertheless, there are very few schools, especially secondary schools, with female head teachers. The situation is better at primary level. These schools are usually closely monitored, to see what results they produce at the end of the year. If the results are poor, this will be attributed to the fact that the head teacher is a woman. If the results are good, then she would have proved her worth and earned people's respect for her, especially the parents. (NB: this is my personal observation, based on informal comments by the public, when end-of-year results for exit classes are published).

At school, girls are not excepted from this dilemma. Although there has been no extensive research on the gender issue, my personal observation is that girls are marginalized at school; through general school practices, both in and outside the classroom. For example, at secondary level, the curriculum is still sex-oriented; that is, boys are expected to do science and technical subjects, while girls are expected to do art and commercial subjects. In principle, learners can do any subject of their choice, but in practice, the choice is most often gender oriented. In short, there is gender imbalance in Swazi schools. However, this is not a unique situation for Swaziland, but is a widespread situation, as will be further discussed in my literature survey in chapter two.

2.4.6. Some interventions towards women's emancipation

In South Africa, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) was established by an act of parliament in 1996, to act as a watchdog against gender inequality (Moolman, 1997).

Nolte (1997) reported that, in a seminar organized by the Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET) and World University Services (WUS), the following resolutions were taken as steps towards women's emancipation:

- South Africa is legally bound to take steps outlined in the convention to ensure that women enjoy real equality in society.
- Custom, culture and religion may not be used as a pretext to violate women's right to equality.

There are also efforts being made to try and improve the plight of women in Swaziland. For example, several organizations have been established to look into women's issues. These include Women and the Law in Southern Africa Research Trust (W L S A) and Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse (SWAGAA), to name two. The Government also established a gender unit in the Ministry of Home Affairs, following the publication of Government Gazette Extraordinary No 44 of 1996. The main objective of the unit is to facilitate the mainstreaming of gender concerns into all areas of development (Ministry of Home Affairs, Swaziland Country Report, 2001).

International organizations are also taking an interest in helping Swaziland on women's issues. For example, UNESCO is keen on sponsoring programmes that deal with 'The girl child'. Hlanze and Mkhabela (1998) write that, "Since the Beijing conference, there has been increased interest in the improved welfare of the girl-child, who is so often discriminated against" (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 49). They go on to say that workshops and seminars have been organized by NGOs and other concerned organizations to create awareness about the plight of the girl-child. These workshops have resulted in the launching of a magazine known as **Bodzadze asibambisane**, which literally translated means **let us work together girls** (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998: 49). They further say that, "it has been recognized that there is a lack of sex education in schools... Some NGOs, such as SHAPE and Family Life Association of Swaziland (FLAS) are conducting vigorous educational campaigns on sexual education in schools" (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998:49).

On gender and development, Hlanze and Mkhabela (1998) write that Swaziland is still trying to address the issue of gender, but the road is slow because the country is just beginning to address equality in development and decision- making. Intensive lobbying by women and NGOs is trying to convince the government, both men and a few women, to assist in recognizing gender imbalances and finding ways and means to address them (Hlanze and Mkhabela, 1998:14). This, they say, is further slowed by the fact that Swaziland has not yet signed or rectified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Hlanze and Mkhabela (1998) also say that Oppong, ILO advisor on gender, population and development, calls for legal definition of marital status. Oppong says that, “women should be educated on the implications of the existing marriage laws” and calls for the introduction of a standard legal form of marriage to be used in all instances (Hlanze And Mkhabela, 1998: 34).

2.5. DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this study, the following words have been used in the sense of the definitions given adjacent to them.

Response: An action or feeling produced in answer to something: a reaction (Oxford advanced Learners Dictionary, 1995).

Gender: All differences between men and women other than the basic physiological ones. These are specific social and cultural patterns of behaviour (Measor and Sikes, 1992).

Gender inequality: -Where men and women are not treated substantively equally or given equal opportunities (my own perception of gender inequality).
- Women are denied what is granted to men (Phil,1994a:15).

Socialization: The process by which an individual learns to be a member of his or her society. It is the way one learns the patterns of thought and behaviour considered acceptable in one’s society (Measor and Sikes, 1992).

Patriarchy: - It implies a hierarchy of social relations and institutions through which men are able to dominate women, and also younger men or who have less power (Measor and Sikes,1992)

- A society, country, etc controlled or governed by men

(Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1995)

- “Translated literally, the term ‘patriarchy’ refers to the rule of father” (Rustin, 1996)

2.6 ACRONYMS USED IN THE TEXT

| | |
|--------|--|
| SHAPE | Schools' Health Awareness Programme in Education |
| SWAGAA | Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organization |
| WLSA | Women And Law in Southern Africa |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women |
| GETNET | Gender Education and Training Network |
| WUS | World University Services |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education Science and Culture Commission |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I discuss some theories by some feminists in their arguments about gender inequality in society in general and in the school in particular. I will discuss key elements of liberal humanist, socialist, radical, psychoanalytic, post-modern and third world feminist theories. In the discussion of each theoretical position, I will highlight the basic tenets of the theory, the view on education implicit in the theory, and offer some criticism of the position.

Measor and Sikes (1992) cite ongoing debates about whether gender characteristics are natural (biological) or nurtured (socially constructed). The later looks at the way children are brought up; where society determines different activities and characteristics for males and females. The basis of my study is the feminist socialization theories, to which I subscribe.

Lather (1991) cites the following features of feminism:

“Feminism is, among other things, a form of attention, a lens that brings into focus particular questions” (Lather, 1991: 71).

“Feminism argues the centrality of gender in the shaping of our consciousness, skills and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege”(Lather, 1991: 71).

According to Lather, therefore, feminism entails the substantive task of making gender a fundamental category for our understanding of the social order. According to Callaway, this will enable people to “see the world from women’s place in it” (Callaway, 1981: 460).

The most familiar schools of the feminist theory are:

1. Liberal feminist theory
2. Socialist feminist theory
3. Radical feminist theory

The less familiar schools of feminist theory include:

1. Psychoanalytic feminist theory
2. Post-modernist feminist theory
3. Third world feminist theory

One common feature among the above theories is that they all place emphasis on how central gender divisions are, to the way a society works. They all state that:

“Feminism starts from the position that the ways that women are treated are unfair, and is based on a commitment to a political project – to developing strategies of change in order to create full rights and opportunities for women” (Measor and Sikes, 1992:18).

Where these theories differ are in their approaches to feminism on the following aspects:

- i. The causes of women’s oppression and the importance they give to patriarchy.
- ii. The programmes of change
- iii. The ultimate goal for society (Measor and Sikes, 1992: 18)

The rest of this chapter consists of a discussion of the feminist theories.

2.1 LIBERAL FEMINISM

2.1.1. Basic tenets of liberal feminism

This theory is based on the political philosophy of liberalism. It starts from a belief in the rights of the individual as based, essentially, on the fact of the individual’s humanity, but also on the individual’s capacity for rationality. According to this

theory, all individuals have rights to freedom and autonomy and to a voice in how they are governed.

Liberal feminism appeals to the central principles of liberty, equality and fairness for all, to justify women's rights. Liberal feminists emphasize the fact that all men and women should have equal rights and that any legal or social constraints that block the achievements and development of talented individuals from whatever gender, class or race should be abolished. Programmes for change are set by their belief that individuals should have occupations and positions that are based on their ability and nothing else.

Liberal feminists place reliance on legal remedies, and have taken up the cause of legal reform to ensure that women have equal opportunities with men. Women are urged to take up opportunities offered to them and to realize their full potential at work and in public, as well as private life.

Philips (1987) argues that social differences cannot be disputed, but these should not count. We are all citizens regardless of our status.

2.1.2. Liberal feminists' views on education

Liberal feminists view education as important for the emancipation of women. They argue that education replaces ignorance and prejudice by knowledge and enlightenment. Early liberals worked for provision of education for girls and their rights of access to educational institutions. They later viewed the importance of a legal framework, which could ensure equality of access and opportunity in educational settings.

2.1.3. Criticism of liberal feminism

One criticism of liberal feminism is that it over-emphasizes individual freedom at the expense of socio- economic factors affecting the lives of women. It overlooks the fact that there is a limit to what the individual can achieve, and his/her rights must be reconciled with those of others in the community. Philips (1987) also bases her

critique of the liberal tradition “on the separation liberalism makes between the public and private” (Philips, 1987).

Other feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), suggest that the view of the ‘self’, as a rational, autonomous individual; which is at the heart of liberalism, is in itself a very male view of the way people and society work. Black feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), even suggest that liberal feminism is a middle-class white movement. They claim that it is nothing but a self-improvement programme, which encourages women to compete for top jobs and live by the same values as men. For black feminists, this is relevant to an elite and ignores the difficulties of many women from disadvantaged groups in society.

Radical feminists argue that liberal feminism fails to recognize the power men have over women in a patriarchal society. They claim that liberal feminists want women to become more like men, and that their goal for society is a system in which women can compete with men and behave like them. In this way, women lose their identity.

Philips (1987) cites Pateman as saying Liberalism “is an individualist, egalitarian, conventionalist doctrine; patriarchalism claims that hierarchical relations of subordination necessarily follow from the natural characteristics of women and men” (Philips, 1987: 14).

2.2 SOCIALIST FEMINISM

2.2.1. Basic tenets of socialist feminism

This theory encompasses a number of different approaches, which vary in the extent to which they accept the principles of Marxism. The Marxist perspective argues that inequality is the result of the economic, social and political structures in which people live. Marx viewed this from a materialistic perspective, which, in western industrialized nations, took the form of a critique of capitalism. Capitalism is responsible for exploitation and inequality (Measor and Sikes 1992: 22). Other economic systems produce other patterns of inequality.

Marxism views education as an important agent in the capitalist superstructure, and that women's oppression is only part of the inequality produced by the capitalist system. Other Marxists view the family as playing a great role in generating women's inequality in capitalist society. They suggest that women became more oppressed with the growth of the importance of private property.

The Marxist programme for change, therefore, suggests that the working class, which is oppressed by capitalism, must conduct a revolution to liberate themselves. The programme objects to a peaceful and gradual reform; capitalism must be replaced with a socialist system in which the means of production belong to one and all. The oppression of women will disappear simultaneously, as it is part of class inequality.

2.2.2. Socialist feminists' views on education

Marxist sociologists argue that schools maintain a role of transmitting inequality. In other words, school practices perpetrate the unequal treatment of boys and girls, both inside and outside the classroom. Marxists view education as an important agent of reproducing the capitalist system.

Socialist feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), argue that schools reproduce both gender inequality and class inequality. They suggest that class and gender are so connected to each other that it is theoretically difficult to separate them. They also suggest that schools direct a range of messages about appropriate roles and activities to girls and boys, and thereby occupy a central place in reproducing the division of labour across the generations. Socialist feminists go on to suggest that schools play a part in gaining the consent of girls to their subordinate status and to their place in the domestic sphere. Schools are also involved in winning the consent of boys to a definition of masculinity, which makes them primarily responsible for the economic support of the family (Measor and Sikes, 1992).

2.2.3. Criticism of socialist feminism

One criticism of the Marxist theory, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), is that it is 'gender blind' and is silent about the position of women and their subordination.

Socialist feminists, however, while still clinging to the basic beliefs of Marxism, in acknowledging the importance of material factors in women's oppression, do not see that living in a class society is the only source, or even the primary source, of women's oppression. According to socialist feminists, both patriarchy and capitalism must be considered and both must be defeated.

Another criticism of socialist feminism, especially leveled by liberal feminists, is that it goes too far in challenging a system which they believe does not need to be changed in any fundamental way, but merely needs fine-tuning, to redress a balance for women.

According to Measor and Sikes (1992), radical feminists feel that socialist feminists do not go far enough, but continue to emphasize the significance of social structure and capitalism in the oppression of women, and fail to give enough space to patriarchy. The radicals argue that some understanding of patriarchy must be incorporated, if Marxism and socialism are to ensure women's liberation.

It is evident, therefore, that the different feminist groups do not agree on the extent to which patriarchy should be considered in the liberation of women.

The socialist feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), have also been criticized especially by radical feminists, for making the economic well-being and independence of women their main concern, which is viewed as simplistic and misses out on a large area of women's oppression. The argument is whether a change in women's work and economic status is enough to change women's position in society.

2.3. RADICAL FEMINISM

2.3.1. Basic tenets of radical feminism

Radical feminism asserts that it is patriarchy that oppresses women and that women's subordination stems from the social, economic and political dominance of men in society. Radical feminists believe that it is men who have forced women into

oppressed situations and functions. To them women's domination is the deepest and strongest form of inequality, and the most difficult to eradicate.

Philips argues that, "women don't just happen to have less than men; they are actively subordinated by the holders of power" (Philips, 1987:1)

Radical feminists accuse liberal feminists of failing to recognize the power of men and criticize their assumption that those who have power will voluntarily give it up. For radical feminists, relationships between men and women including sexual relationships, are governed by patriarchy. This, they feel, needs to be changed.

Radical feminists also criticize the family, which, they feel is permeated by patriarchy. They see the nuclear family as living in isolation, in its own individual home as a prison (Measor and Sikes, 1992, citing Greer, 1981). The radicals are calling for the abolition of the nuclear family and have made attempts to create alternative communal structures. "How could they not see that women's oppression was based on the family?" (Philips, 1987, citing Ellen DuBois's discussion of the American suffrage movement).

Recently, radical feminists have adopted the view that a feminist revolution must mean more than women simply imitating men. They have now come to view women's biology, especially their reproductive capacities and the nurturing personality, as a potential source of liberation for women.

In view of the above argument, radical feminists advocate the abolition of existing legal and political structures, if women's emancipation is to be achieved. They also feel that social and cultural institutions need to be revised and see the family as an important agent for the reform of personal lives. However, individuals must also make an effort to make changes in, and restructure, their personal lives. This includes the change in sexuality and the forms of sexual relations between the sexes. This would mean demanding access to abortion and contraception as a basic right for women. Some even go further to argue that there should be some new technological way of reproducing the human species, to free women from pregnancy and childbirth. In this way women will be fully liberated. The argument is that inequality between men and

women is rooted in the nature of human reproductive biology. Philips argues that: “as long as women bear children there is at least one inescapable difference between the sexes, and many recent writings have identified women’s role in reproduction as the source and the mechanism of patriarchal power” (Philips, 1987: 3).

For the radical feminists, struggle is necessary to change the way society works. They argue that patriarchy cannot simply be changed but must be ripped out root and branch.

2.3.2. Radical feminists’ views on education

On education, radical feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), analyze the way patriarchy spreads its web into schools, and the power relationships between boys and girls in the schools. They claim that boys dominate schools and classrooms and take the lion’s share of the teacher’s attention and that this has a negative effect on girl’s chances of success at school. The curriculum is also dominated by boys’ interests and leaves the girls out. Boys are, therefore, regarded as a major source of the problems that girls have at school. The way teachers treat the girls, in comparison with boys, also lowers the girls’ self-esteem.

Boys, according to the radical feminists, spend a lot of their time and energy in the social control of girls. This usually involves verbal abuse which reduces the girls’ chances of success at school. In this way, girls do not leave the academic competition gracefully, but are ‘pushed out’ by being treated negatively by the boys. A consequence is the voluntary segregation of girls from boys, especially at the late phase of schooling. Sexism, therefore, shapes the image the girls have of their future lives.

2.3.3. Criticism of radical feminism

One criticism of radical feminists is that they do not distinguish between the various forms of male power, such as the different classes and types of men, who have varying amounts of power.

Radical feminism also ignores issues of race and class and the fact that not all men have equal ability to oppress all women. Radical feminists also tend to assume that female nature is all good and that male nature is all bad. They see men as victimizers who are incapable of being anything other than exploitative .

2.4. PSYCHOANALYTIC FEMINISM

2.4.1. Basic tenets of psychoanalytic feminism

One important feature of psychoanalytic feminism is the importance it places on sexuality, particularly female sexuality. Psychoanalytic feminists, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), argue that the society we live in have many taboos on sexuality in general and women's sexuality in particular. This manner of gender socialization, they argue, leads to girls being guilty and confused about their sexual feelings; thus their sexuality does not develop fully, or they are dispossessed of it. This oppression of women affects their emotional life and sexuality as well as their place in the work force and institutions of society.

One common aspect psychoanalytic feminism has with radical feminism is that they both draw our attention to private as opposed to public areas of life (Measor and Sikes, 1992). In order for women to free themselves, psychoanalytic feminists advocate for an "interior revolution". They insist that women must do more than fight for their rights as citizens, but must also probe the depths of their psyche (Measor and Sikes, 1992; citing Mitchell, 1974), at the same time not denying the reality of social, economic and legal disadvantages which every woman faces. Women also need to challenge their own oppression; the argument is that women collude with men, that is, they allow men to dominate them.

2.4.2. Psychoanalytic feminists' views on education

On education, psychoanalytic feminists argue that schools are involved in gender socialization, and communicate messages about the nature of sexuality. This is done through the hidden curriculum, if not officially.

On gender identity, psychoanalytic feminists argue that when boys come into contact with girls in mixed schools, it is likely that there will be a division between them according to interest, activities and aspirations. It is likely that boys and girls in schools will choose to do different things from each other; to signal that they are male or female. This, according to the psychoanalysts, explains what happens in relation to curriculum choice; where boys choose the sciences and girls choose the arts and domestic science.

This is of great importance, since adolescence is the time when sex role differentiation is at its most intense. This is the time “when pupils are consumed with a concern to establish themselves as feminine or masculine”(Measor, 1984).

2.4.3. Criticism of psychoanalytic feminism

One criticism of psychoanalytic feminism is that it underplays the significance that economic, social and legal factors have for women's position in the family and society. Other feminists argue that this material oppression makes it very difficult for women to reflect critically on their individual and social position. On the other hand, psychoanalytic feminism draws attention to the way that oppression is experienced by each individual and to how the oppression feels.

2.5. POSTMODERN FEMINISM

2.5.1. Basic tenets of postmodern feminism

Postmodern feminism, according to Lather (1991), is concerned with the question: how do our very efforts to liberate perpetuate the relations of dominance? She cites Lusted (1991), who sees the disattention, the “desperately undertheorized” nature of pedagogy as at the root of the failure of emancipatory objectives. While other feminists question the idea of women being “the second sex” or “the other”, postmodern feminists, view the “otherness” as empowering women to stand back and criticize the norms, values and rituals that the dominant culture (patriarchy) seeks to impose on everyone. “It is a way of being, thinking and speaking that celebrates openness, plurality, diversity and difference (Perumal, 1997, citing Tong, 1989:219; Farganis, 1994b: 106).

Another aspect of postmodern feminism is that it challenges the fundamental dichotomies of Enlightenment. It rejects Enlightenment thought because of its gender bias. Postmodernism is viewed as having the ability to reveal some of the errors of contemporary feminist positions.

According to Landman (1996), postmodernism opens up new possibilities for women of today to move beyond the radical power game played by modernist feminism in addressing the age-old problem of male domination. However, postmodernism does not seek to replace modernism in any way. "In fact, the paradox of the post modern is that its questioning is totally dependent on that which it questions. It does not deny that there is some system of priorities in life. What it does say, is that there are all kinds of orders and systems in the world, but they do not exist out there, fixed, given and eternal: they are human constructs in history" (Landman, 1996: 50 cited by Hleta-Nkambule, 2001: 26).

Another observation by Landman is that by resisting all forms of oppression, while at the same time celebrating differences among people and honouring tradition, the oppressor as well as the oppressed can be empowered to freedom and reconciliation. She also argues that oppression destroys both the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressed is deprived of humanity and the oppressor becomes inhumane in the process. Both suffer alienation from their true nature (Landman, 1996: 51)

Hleta-Nkambule (2001) argues that postmodern women do not seek liberation through power in the 'women's lib' sense of the word, but emancipation through the empowerment of all. Postmodern women request men to recognize and celebrate their differentness in all its richness and promise (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001: 27). To her, differences can complement rather than oppose each other.

Another element of postmodernism is that it suggests a return to tradition since our tradition constitutes who we are and affects the way we perceive, formulate, analyze and solve the problems facing us. However, this renewed sense of tradition is certainly not a nostalgia or a call for the same old traditions of the past, but it is rather

a re-thinking and re-evaluation for our tradition in the light of the here and now (Hleta-Nkambule, 2001: 27).

2.5.2. Postmodern feminist views' on education

Postmodern feminists see pedagogy as addressing “the transforming of consciousness that takes place in the intersection of three agencies – the teacher, the learner and the knowledge they together produce” (Lather, 1991, citing Lusted, 1986:3).

For postmodern feminists, the concept of pedagogy focuses attention on the conditions and means through which knowledge is produced. This is a movement from “dialogue” to “working together across differences”, from a concept of an eventually unified dialogue, to the construction of strategies in context for dealing with unsaid and unsayable and present within the classroom, where “all voices”... are not carrying and cannot carry equal legitimacy (Lather. 1991).

2.6 THIRD WORLD FEMINISM

2.6.1. Basic tenets of Third World feminism

The theories discussed above are usually associated with First World feminists, who are mainly concerned with gender inequality. “...the feminism emerging from white, middle- class western women narrowly confines itself to a struggle against gender discrimination” (Johnson-Odin, 1991: 315). Third World feminism, on the other hand, takes the issue of discrimination further. “While it is true that the oppression of impoverished and marginalized Euro- American women is linked also to gender and class relations, that of Third World women is linked also to race relations and often imperialism” (Johnson-Odin, 1991: 314). Third World women, according to Mohanty (1991), are often located by scholars in terms of the underdevelopment, oppressive traditions, high illiteracy, rural and urban poverty, religious fanaticism, and over population of particular Asian, African, Middle Eastern, and Latin American countries. To her, “this is a term which designates a political constituency, not a biological or even sociological one” (Mohanty, 1991: 6-7). Mbilinyi (1992), according to Sylvester (1995), says that African feminists critically focus more on the problems of imperialism than the problems of gender per se (Sylvester, 1995: 955).

Sylvester (1995) says that to Mbilinyi, “the history of African societies intermingle class, gender, and race- ethnicity “laws and interdictions” in ways that leave African feminists savvy about the imperialist West” (Sylvester, 1995: 954).

Another feature of Third World or African feminism is the question of identity, “... critical African feminisms link to certain traditions of Western feminism to suggest “the nonexistence of a unitary subject called ‘woman’ or ‘women’ (or man/men)” (Sylvester, 1995: 954). Mohanty (1991) argues that, “However, clearly our relation to and centrality in particular struggles depends on our different, often conflictual locations and histories” (Mohanty, 1991:4).

The struggle of Third World feminists is, therefore, connected to the struggles of their communities against racism and economic exploitation. Third World women’s visions of feminism as a philosophy and a movement for social justice that was inclusive of their entire communities are those in which they are equal participants, and which addresses the racism, economic exploitation, and imperialism against which they continued to struggle (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 316). Woman’s advancement, according to Johnson- Odin, is highly political because it is an integral part of our quest for justice, not only at the household level, but all the way within the local, national and world economic order (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 318). Gordon (1996) argues that, “Ultimately, future gender relations in Africa will depend on what happens to African economies, which in turn depends to a large extent on the global economy and the internal dynamics of political and economic reform under way in many countries of the continent” (Gordon, 1996: 11).

African women’s struggle, therefore, is seen as taking place equally at the household level, that is, within the family, including between men and women, and at the international level, where many of the same things which oppress women (that is, racism, imperialism, economic exploitation) also oppress men, though not, sometimes, without differences (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 318).

For Third World women, according to Johnson- Odin (1991), the fundamental issue is not whether there is need for feminism, that is, a general movement that seeks to redress women’s oppression, but rather what the definition and agenda of that feminism will be (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 319). She goes on to say that in

underdeveloped societies it is not just a question of internal redistribution of resources, but of their generation and control; not just equal opportunity between men and women, but the creation of opportunity itself; not only the position of women in society, but the position of the societies in which Third World women find themselves. "Thus Third World women cannot afford to embrace the notion that feminism seeks only to achieve equal treatment of men and women and equal access and opportunity for women..." (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 320). Johnson- Odin (1991) argues that gender oppression cannot be the single leg on which feminism rests. It should not be limited to merely achieving equal treatment of women vis-à-vis men. This is where feminism as a philosophy must differ from the shallow notion of "women's rights" (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 320).

Patriarchy is another factor that contributes to the oppression of Third World women. "... it is a totally ahistorical assumption often nourished by contemporary images that women in the Third World have somehow been more oppressed by an indigenous patriarchy than women in the West" (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 321). Gordon (1996), however, argues that, "While the divisions among women are often downplayed in the struggle against patriarchy, the grounds for united action of men and women is often ignored entirely.

To assume that opposition to patriarchy always pits men against women overlooks the positive role men can and do play in support of women" Gordon, 1996: 10). She further says that, "Feminists need to explore these possibilities and perhaps give greater attention to how and in what areas men can be approached and their help enlisted in the struggle for women's rights and opportunities" (Gordon, 1996:10).

In summary, therefore, for Third World women, factors other than gender figure integrally in the oppression of women and, even taking patriarchy into account, many Third World women labour under indigenous inequitable gender relationships exacerbated by western patriarchy, racism and exploitation. In conclusion, Johnson- Odin (1991) says that, "Feminism, therefore, must be a comprehensive and inclusive ideology and movement that incorporates yet transcends gender- specificity. We must create a feminist movement which struggles against those things which can clearly be shown to oppress women, whether based on race, sex, or class or resulting from

imperialism. Such a definition of feminism will allow us to isolate the gender-specific element in women's oppression while simultaneously relating it to broader issues, to the totality of what oppresses us as women" (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 322).

Johnson- Odin (1991) argues, however, that besides the different perspectives from which First and Third World feminists address women's oppression, there is a broad base on which they must agree, if feminism is truly to be concerned about redressing the oppression of women. "This broad base must at least recognize that racism and economic exploitation are primary forces in the oppression of women in the world. It must acknowledge that while gender is a potential bond, women participate in the oppression of other women all over the world. It must respect different cultures, and it must agree that women in various places are perfectly capable of having their own voice" (Johnson- Odin, 1991: 325).

CONCLUSION

Measor and Sikes (1992) see psychoanalytic feminism as complimentary to liberal and socialist ideas and concerns. The two (liberal and socialist feminism) deal with the social factors, that is, the struggle for legal rights and equal access to public life; while psychoanalytic feminism deals with the internal and emotional issues, indicating the sense in which women have some power to bring about change.

Although the different feminist groups discussed above differ in their approach, there are some issues on which they agree; especially in terms of education. All the feminist groups have succeeded in making girls "visible" in the research on schools. They have brought the issue of discrimination against girls on to an official agenda and into the minds of teachers and education policy-makers.

Kenway (1990) argues that policies that have an impact on women are invariably interwoven with assumptions about the appropriate relationship between men and women. She goes on to say that policies on gender and education do not exist or have their effects in isolation from other matters of policy. She suggests that certain questions should be asked with regard to what approaches to education the political and administrative apparatus of the state have directed or encouraged schools to

undertake; how these approaches have been organized and why these approaches have been selected (see Kenway, 1990: 24 for specific questions).

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I have highlighted some of the literature by some feminists in their arguments about gender equality or inequality in society in general and in the school in particular. This section frames the discussion of the findings relating to gender practices that I observed in the school on which this study is based. In particular, I refer to this section in the evaluation in the conclusion of this dissertation.

A lot of research has been done on gender equality in general, and, particularly, gender equality or inequality as far as education and schools are concerned. Following is a discussion of some of the findings regarding this issue.

According to Measor and Sikes (1992), there is the feminist view that the school plays a big part in constructing, defining and reinforcing gender roles and gender identity. This view criticizes the role played by the school in gender socialization and the ways the schools disadvantage girls. This includes looking at the curriculum, social and moral practices and styles adopted by teachers at school. The social feminists feel that schools reproduce both gender inequality and class inequality.

Marxist sociologists argue that schools maintain a role of transmitting inequality. They view education as an important agent of reproducing the capitalist system. Socialist feminists also suggest that schools direct a range of messages about appropriate roles and activities to girls and boys and thereby occupy a certain place in reproducing the division of labour across the generations. They go on to suggest that schools play a part in gaining the consent of girls to their subordinate status and to their place in the domestic sphere. Schools are also involved in winning the consent of boys to a definition of masculinity, which makes them primarily responsible for the economic support of the family.

Liberal feminists view education as important for the emancipation of women. They argue that education replaces ignorance and prejudice by knowledge and enlightenment. Early liberals worked for the establishment of provisions of education for girls and their rights of access to educational institutions. They later viewed the importance of a legal framework, to ensure equality of access and opportunity in educational settings.

Radical feminists analyze the way patriarchy spreads its web into schools, and the power relationships between boys and girls in the schools. They claim that boys dominate the schools and classrooms and take the lion's share of the teacher's attention and that this has a negative effect on girl's chances of success at school. Research, according to Measor and Sikes (1992), shows that boys tend to gain more from teachers' attention and help than girls. This, of course, affects their performance an achievement.

French and French , (in Woods and Hammersley, 1993) discuss the gender imbalances in the classroom. They feel that in mixed- sex classrooms male pupils receive more teacher attention than female pupils. Spender, according to them, has also noticed this imbalance and also feels that there has been no attempt to explain this imbalance. French and French attribute this imbalance to teachers being socially and psychologically predisposed to favour boys. They also reiterate Spender's call for further investigation into these imbalances, and suggest an interaction-based approach to this issue.

In an edited extract from Wright (in Woods and Hammersley, 1993), the editors suggest that attitudes and stereotypes that teachers may hold may affect pupils, and that the internal structures of schools and their operations sometimes have different effects on pupils of ethnic minority groups.

The curriculum is also dominated by boys' interests and leaves the girls out. Boys are, therefore, regarded as a major source of the problems that girls have at school. The way teachers treat the girls, in comparison with the boys, also lowers the girl's self-esteem.

Radical feminists also argue the sexual and verbal harassment of girls by both their fellow students as well as the male teachers. This has a negative effect on the girls' education and results in the girls voluntarily leaving the school.

On gender identity, psychoanalytic feminists argue that in mixed schools, it is likely that boys and girls will have different interests and aspirations and do different activities. It is likely that boys and girls in schools will choose different things from each other; to signal that they are male or female.

This, according to the psychoanalysts, explains what happens in relation to curriculum choice; where boys choose the sciences and girls choose the arts and domestic science. This is of great importance, since adolescence is the time when sex role differentiation is at its most intense. This is the time "when pupils are consumed with a concern to establish themselves as feminine or masculine"(Measor, 1984).

Askew and Ross (1988) argue that early socialization and sex- stereotyped attitudes about boys and girls have a fundamental effect on the processes of education in relation to teaching style and methodology and the way in which learning is negotiated by boys and girls.

Claydon, Knight and Rado (1977) make the following proposals:

- Educational content must rid from its processes all vestiges of institutional racism and/or class and sex prejudice.
- Educational curriculum should be linked to community issues as an extension of educational practice.
- Schools must offer choice as to ethnic identity. The individual has to decide the extent to which he/she will participate within the culture. Educators have to be sensitive to decisions and must reform schools to make such a choice possible.

- Segregation strategies in the form of school organization, that is, grouping, grading, “migrant education”, ‘remedial classes’ should be eliminated as prejudicial to life choices for minority group students.

Claydon, Knight and Rado (1977) also observe that it is widely accepted by educational authorities that the purposes of universal education are to produce citizens who will take their place within society, and to produce some of the standard values of society. They argue that this is a highly political function that the school system carries out on behalf of the state. They regard schools as “gatekeepers” of society. I feel, however, that the concept of “universal” education should be redefined. Further debate on this issue is necessary.

Swann and Graddol, (1995) also express the growing concern about the role of formal education in reproducing gender differences and inequalities. They argue that studies have shown that classroom talk, that is, the way teachers talk to girls and boys and the way girls and boys talk among themselves, shows that teachers tend to give more time and attention to boys and that boys themselves tend to monopolize the physical and verbal space.

Swann and Graddol (1995) quote Sara Delamont (1990) as saying:

“Schools develop and reinforce sex segregations, stereotypes and even discrimination which exaggerate the negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world, when they could be trying to alleviate them” (Delamont, 1990: 2).

They also refer to Dale Spender as saying that girls may be educationally disadvantaged by their lack of opportunity to talk in class.

Kenway (1990) calls for further research in the field of gender policy analysis. She cites historical and contemporary studies, which identify the ways in which education policies, at a macro-level, discriminate against and oppress girls and women, and help to construct femininity. The lack of literature, however, has led to the narrow analysis of gender policies.

Salisbury and Riddell (eds) (2000) observe a shift in agendas and altered emphasis in relation to equal opportunities policy-making and practice. These shifts, they observe, have shaped, to some degree, girls' improved examination participation and performance. They also reiterate the feminist scholars' urgent priority that research into educational processes as well as performance is undertaken. They feel that researchers' voices convey a clear and unambiguous message, that is, the need for further closely focused research on gender. They conclude by saying that gender relations, both within and outside the sphere of education, have changed radically. This, they argue, may be linked to wider features of social reproduction which embrace class, ethnicity and disability as well as gender.

On state provision and gender bias in education in the United States, Wringley (1992) argues that the social welfare system orientation toward the market has been particularly damaging to women and to minorities. Women receive lower government benefits than those with steady paying work. She argues that women's labour market disadvantages are compounded because benefits are tied to jobs.

"In addition to their liabilities in the social welfare system, women have suffered disadvantages in state education provision. These disadvantages arise at every level of schooling, although they are most pronounced at the point where education becomes relevant for occupational preparation" (Wringley citing Pascall, 1986: 115).

She goes on to say that "the different likely occupational destinies of males and females have historically served as warrants for their different treatment (and unequal receipt of state resources) in the educational system" (Wringley, 1992:4). Therefore, Wringley argues, the sex-segregated labour market helps produce gender-defined schooling.

Wringley (1992) also argues that in the early 1900s, high school vocational education programmes were almost entirely sex segregated. Training for skilled trades was reserved for boys while girls took courses in home economics or garment work (Wringley citing Tyack and Hansot, 1990: 210). She further argues that African-American girls fared even worse than white girls, since schools often trained them to

be servants or laundry workers. Girls, therefore, gained no occupational advantage from home economics courses, but business courses prepared them for jobs in the expanding white-collar sector.

Another observation made by Wringley (1992) is that schools spent more on boys outside as well as inside the classroom, most particularly on sports programmes (pg.5). She argues that, in the first decades of the 1900s, school sports bound local communities to the schools and created a male sports culture, while girls remained on the sidelines, cheering on the male athletes.

Wringley also observes, and argues that there is evidence that parents attach greater value to their sons' college attendance than that of their daughters. Therefore, women's chances of attending college are reduced if they have brothers. In the early 1990s, "daughters sometimes worked to help finance their brothers' schooling"(Wringley, citing Durbin and Kent, 1992: 71).

The scenario described above is not only common in American communities; for example, women in Swaziland also face the same disadvantages. It is common that some families prefer to concentrate their resources on the education of boys than girls. This does not only concern college education, but sometimes it begins as early as the primary level.

Another factor hindering girls' education is their additional duty as caregivers, which conflicts with the realization of economic reward for their educational investment. Wrigley (1992) argues that these care giving demands help shape women's educational choices and funnel them into low-paying, sex-segregated occupations.

Grant (in Wrigley, 1992) argues that recent research suggests that race/ethnicity intersects with gender in schools, which encourages divergent forms of femininity and masculinity. Schools, therefore, create and maintain multiple forms of masculinity and femininity, which are often supported by teachers, administrators or student peer groups. She also argues that male and female students of varying racial groups go

through differential experience based on race in the acquisition of gender identities via schooling.

Thorne (in Wringley, 1992) observes that, throughout the years of elementary school, children's friendships and casual encounters are strongly separated by sex. This sex segregation is well established by middle childhood, and is immediately visible in elementary school settings. For example, according to Thorne (1992), when children choose seats in classrooms or cafeteria, or get into line, they frequently arrange themselves in same-sex clusters. Playgrounds also have gendered turfs, with some areas and activities controlled mainly by boys and others controlled by girls.

Another observation made by Thorne is that, in middle childhood, girls' worlds are less public than those of boys. He cites Eder and Halliman (1978) and also Waldrop and Halverson (1975) as saying that girls more often interact in private places and in small groups or friendship pairs. Lever (1976) argues that girls play in more cooperative manner and turn-taking. Boys, on the other hand, tend to interact in larger, more age- heterogeneous groups. They engage in more rough and tumble play and physical fighting. Boys' interaction is often constructed in the form of contests. Thorne comes up with the conclusion that sex segregation should be understood not as a given activity, but should be seen as a result of deliberate activity.

Roland Martin (in Stone (ed.) 1994) argues that intellectual disciplines such as history and psychology, literature and fine arts, sociology and biology are biased according to sex. She argues that these disciplines fall short of the ideal of equality of representation and treatment of women in academic knowledge itself.

"The disciplines exclude women from their subject matter; they distort the female according to the male image of her; and they deny the feminine by forcing women into a masculine mold" (Roland Martin, 1994: 105).

This exclusion of women from the educational realm, Roland Martin argues, does not only harm women, but the field of philosophy of education itself is adversely affected.

She argues that “when gender is not seen to be a relevant educational category, important questions are begged” (Roland Martin, 1994: 116).

Houston (in Stone (ed.) 1994) raises the question of whether public education should be gender-free. First, she gives different meanings of the term “gender-free”. These are:

- i. A gender-free education would be one that made active attempts to disregard gender by obliterating gender differentiation that arose within the educational sphere.
- ii. Gender free means that gender is ignored, not attended to. A gender free education is one that refuses to take notice of gender.
- iii. Gender free means freedom from gender bias. A gender free education would be one that eliminated gender bias.

Houston’s argument is based on the view that girls and women have unequal access to educational institutions. Efforts were made towards sex equality, where it was decided that “gender should be ignored, that is, no longer pay attention to it in deciding who should get an education, who should be admitted to schools, allowed to study certain subjects and have access to particular educational activities” (Houston, 1994: 123). She argues that, after realizing that sex-segregated education has been both different and unequal, ignoring gender has enabled the move to coeducation in a stricter sense. For example, there would no longer be home economics and typing for girls only or physical science and industrial arts for boys only.

However, Houston argues that studies on teacher- student interactions indicate that, within coeducational classrooms, teachers, regardless of sex, interact more with boys, give boys more attention (both positive and negative), and this pattern intensifies at the secondary and college levels.

Again, research findings, according to Houston, indicate that student interactions with one another also appear to dampen female participation in mixed-sex classes Houston,

therefore, advocates for the adoption of a gender sensitive perspective of education, as the most effective way to deal with gender bias.

On research methodology, feminists, according to Olesen in Denzil and Lincoln, 1994, use a variety of qualitative styles, but share the assumption held generally by qualitative or interpretive researchers, that interpretive human actions, whether found in women's reports of experience or in the cultural products of reports of experience, can be the focus of research. For feminists, "it is important to centre and make problematic women's diverse situations and the institutions and frames that influence those situations, and then to refer the examination of that problem to theoretical, policy, or action frameworks in the interest of realizing social justice for women" (Olesen, in Denzil and Lincoln, 1994: 158). In other words, qualitative feminist research focuses on subjectivity and interpersonal relationship.

Lather (1991) discusses different categories of feminist researchers:

- i. Those who see their contribution as adhering to established canons in order to add to the body of cumulative knowledge which will eventually help to eliminate sex- based inequality.
- ii. Those who address methodological problems within an essentially conventional paradigm and end by creating knowledge which profoundly challenges the substance and, to a less dramatic degree, the processes of mainstream knowledge production.
- iii. Those who maximize the research process as a change- enhancing, reciprocally educative encounter.

According to Lather (1991), at the centre of an emancipatory social science is the dialectal, reciprocal shaping of both the practice of praxis-oriented research and the development of the emancipatory theory. In praxis- oriented inquiry, Lather argues, reciprocally educative process is more important than product, as empowering methods contribute to consciousness- raising and transformative social action.

In Swaziland, where I carried out my study, very little, if any, has been done to address the question of gender equality or gender inequality and education. For one, the education policy is still under formulation. On Swaziland's policy overview, found in the SADC report on Human Resources Development (17 – 19 February 2000), the report states that:

“The draft education policy which is currently under discussion by the government of Swaziland puts emphasis on improving efficiency and quality, and paying more attention to previously neglected areas. Particular areas of focus include:

- Elimination of wastage in the form of repetition and dropouts.
- Increasing the number of schools with diversified curricular.
- Gender sensitivity.
- More widespread and better provision for learners with special needs”.

On gender equality, the report states that:

“Throughout the history of education in Swaziland, gender balance in enrolments has never been an issue in primary and secondary schools. What has been of issue was the choice of subjects, where some, such as home economics were viewed to be for girls only while others, like woodwork were deemed to be for boys only. However, from the 1980s the curriculum, beginning at teachers' colleges ensured that all subjects were offered to learners of both genders” (P. 36)

CHAPTER 5

RESEARH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the population and sample of my study, my access to the school, background of the school, research methodology, methods of collecting data and data collecting instruments.

5.1. POPULATION AND SAMPLE

This study was carried out in one secondary school in Mbabane, Swaziland. This is an urban school. All the students are L1 SiSwati speakers and L2 English speakers. The school is co-educational, that is, it has both boys and girls who come from varying socio- economic backgrounds. Stake (1994) emphasizes the importance of case selection. He argues that nothing is more important than making a proper selection of cases. It is a sampling problem. The cases should be selected to represent some population of cases.

5.1.1 ACCESS TO THE SCHOOL

My access to the school was very easy. Permission to do my study at the school was obtained verbally through the head teacher, whom I had known since our school days. She is the one who selected the classes and teachers I was to work with; my understanding was that these were selected without any specific agenda in relation to the study.

5.1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE SCHOOL

The school head teacher is female while the deputy head teacher is male. The head teacher has headed the school for Eleven (11) years (1990- 2001).

There are Thirty Three (33) teachers, including the head teacher and deputy: Thirteen (13) male and Twenty (20) female. The reason given by the head teacher for having more female teachers than the males, was that, in the previous years, the school had more male teachers than female. The school administration, therefore, realized the need to have more female teachers. To me this is an indication that the head teacher is consciously working towards gender equality.

The school has a total student enrolment of Six hundred (600): Three hundred and Eighteen (318) girls and Two hundred and Eighty Two (282) boys. Admission to the school is by merit and nothing else. The students have to pass an entrance interview. According to the head teacher, the fact that there are more girls than boys was not intentional.

To assist the school administration, two head prefects are appointed: one boy and one girl. These, according to the head teacher, have equal status. In this way, both genders are represented where student issues are concerned. In addition, each class has two class prefects: one boy and one girl, to take care of classroom issues.

Two Form Two classes (second year of secondary school) were involved in my study. One was a science class of Forty (40) students: Fourteen (14) boys and Twenty Six (26) girls. The teacher was female; contrary to the long- standing belief that science is a male dominated subject. The other was a typing class of Eighteen (18) students: Twelve (12) boys and Six (6) girls. Again, this is contrary to the belief that typing is a girls or women's subject or profession. Even more interesting is the fact that the typing was taught by a male teacher.

A sample of Five (5) parents: Three (3) male and Two (2) female were used for my study. The selection was by convenience, that is, only those parents who were willing to take part were selected. It is possible these may be the more "advanced" parents who "self-selected" themselves.

5.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Since this was a case study, I was investigating a single, specific case among others. In this case, it was a secondary school. Stake (1994) argues that case study, as a form of research, is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry. He states that case study draws attention to the question of what specifically can be learned from the single case.

According to Stake (1994), the case is functioning specific. He cites Louis Smith (1978), as saying that the case is a “bounded system”. It is, however, common, to recognize that certain features are within the system, within the boundaries of the case, and other features outside. Stake (1988) sees the boundedness and the behaviour patterns of the system as key factors in the understanding of the case.

Nisbet and Watt (1980) state that the case study draws on the techniques of observational studies, and aims to give a portrayal of specific situations in such a way as to illuminate some more general principle. They cite the definition of case study, adopted in the 1976 Cambridge conference on the topic as, “ an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus an inquiry round an instance” (Adelman et al., 1977: 139- 150). A shorter definition that came out of the conference is that case study is “a systematic investigation of a specific instance”.

In a case study, a variety of techniques are employed in the gathering of evidence. These include observation, interviews, examining documents or reports of people’s work. Nisbet and Watt (1980) argue that sufficient evidence should be present to allow the reader to see how the conclusions are reached. They also argue that, interview and observation, and even the selection of documents, are likely to be influenced by subjective judgement or personal bias. However, it is possible to achieve a degree of objectivity by bringing bias out into the open. This, they suggest, can be done by applying the basic principle in case study work, of cross- checking findings from one interview with those of another, or checking interviews against documents and vice versa.

The case study, as a research method, has its strengths and weaknesses. One of its strengths, according to Nisbet and Watt (1980) is that, the results are more easily understood by a wide readership beyond the professional research circle. Again, the case study provides suggestions for intelligent interpretation of other similar cases. It is also a style of inquiry, which is particularly suited to the individual researcher, in contrast to other styles which require a research team.

One of the weaknesses of the case study is that its results cannot easily be generalized, except by an intuitive judgement that the case being studied is similar to other cases. Another weakness of the case study is that the observer has to be selective, but the selectivity is not usually open to the checks, which can be applied in large- scale surveys. It tends to be personal and subjective. However, it is flexible, and can pick up unanticipated effects and can change to take into account of new insight.

Like all other case studies, however, the findings of this study may or may not be used to generalize about what is happening in other schools, although this can be a stepping stone towards generalization, if similar studies are carried out in these schools. Stake (1994) observes that researchers report their cases as cases that may be compared with others. However, they differ as to how much they will take responsibility for making comparison, setting up comparative cases for the reader, or acknowledging reference for each reader.

I was allowed to do my study at the school for one week. As Stake says, “qualitative case study is characterized by the main researcher spending substantial time on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting, revising meanings of what is going on” (Stake, 1994).

Adler Patricia A. and Adler Peter (1994) state that for as long as people have been interested in studying the social and natural world around them, observation has served as the bedrock source of human knowledge. They argue that observation “guides us in forging paths of action and interpreting the actions and reactions of others” (pg. 377).

5.2.1. METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

An observation checklist was used to assist my observation of the teachers' and pupils' activities both inside and outside the classroom. This included morning assembly, play- time, as well as classroom and staff-room interaction. As Patricia and Peter Adler (1994: 379) state, researchers may choose to focus on a group where they intentionally place themselves in a particular location to observe subjects' behaviour, or they may observe the behaviour of those falling naturally around them. Here, I would sit for the duration of the lesson or assembly.

I also used a questionnaire to get information from the teachers. This included the other Form Two teachers beside the two whose classes I was observing: there were Ten in all. Another questionnaire was used to get information from the students in the two Form 2 classes being observed.

I also conducted interviews with students from the two classes being observed: Two boys and Two girls. These were volunteers. The rest of the Form Two students were reluctant to be interviewed. I also interviewed the head teacher about the general school administration of the school, especially the handling of male and female students as well as teachers. The students' interviews were tape-recorded. The head teacher did not allow me to tape-record my interview with her, but I was able to take notes.

For the parents, I had initially planned to conduct a focus group discussion; but because of the difficulty of bringing the parents together, I ended up asking the parents to answer the questions individually, as questionnaires. I managed to get Five (5) parents for this exercise. As Fontana and Frey (1994) say, interviewing has a wide variety of forms and a multiplicity of uses. The most common is the individual, face to face verbal interchange; but can also take the form of face to face group interviewing, mailed or self- administered questionnaires and telephone surveys.

I also did a desktop study during my stay at the school. I examined school documents such as students' performance records, students' and teachers' duty rosters as well as circulars and other correspondence from the head teacher's office.

For reference material I used library books, including journals and other dissertations, as well as other documents such as papers and reports presented by the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations .

5.2.2. DATA COLLECTING INSTRUMENTS

Where questionnaires were used, they were designed by me to suit my study. The questionnaires were designed to take between Fifteen (15) and Thirty (30) minutes and the questionnaires and interview instruments had not more than 10 items (questions). The questions were semi-structured. Since the interviews were recorded, these were transcribed.

5.2.3. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

As this is a case study, material covered a comprehensive range of activities within the school. The data collected from my observations were analyzed to identify the characteristics of different pertinent relationships in different contexts.

The school documents were analyzed for trends in administrative practices. The data from the questionnaires and interviews were carefully analyzed individually and then collated according to categories which emerged from the responses, using a grounded theory methodology, as suggested by Straus and Corbin (1994). In each category the responses of the male and female respondents were distinguished.

The categorized responses were then further analyzed to show the assumptions about gender that pertained within each category.

Finally, all the findings were cross-checked (Nisbet and Watt, 1980) to reveal the overall picture that emerged about gender equality within the school.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The discussion in this chapter is divided into three sections. In section one I give a description of the school where my study was conducted. In section two I outline the observations I did during my stay at the school. In section three I analyze the data from the questionnaires and interviews I did with the students, teachers and parents.

6.1. SECTION ONE: DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Since I was doing a case study, a brief description of the school where I did my study will help to give a picture of the scene of my study. This is one of the urban government schools situated in Mbabane, the capital city of Swaziland. As a government school, it falls under the hierarchical structure governing all government schools, that is, the school reports to the regional education officer, who in turn reports to the national director of education.

The school is built next to one of the main roads leading to the city. The bus stop is actually next to the school gate. It is, therefore, within easy reach of students, teachers, parents and every body else who needs to get to the school, by bus, taxi or private car.

The school is one of the government's schools which are well maintained and provided for. Approaching the school, one is impressed by the physical appearance of the school buildings and the surroundings. At the gate there is a beautifully designed board with the name of the school as well as the school emblem. The buildings are beautifully painted and the surroundings are clean. All the rooms, the principal's office, the staff-rooms, the school hall as well as the classrooms are adequately furnished. The school also has a tuck-shop, where students and teachers can buy snacks during break.

The school has all the necessary facilities for running an institution, that is, electricity, running water, telephone as well as a computer. It is one of the schools that produce good results for the national exams.

During class time, one can never find students roaming around aimlessly, except when students change lessons and have to move from one room to another. This is an indication of a high standard of discipline in the school.

6.2. SECTION TWO: PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

This section covers observations I made during my one-week stay in the school. These were observations made inside the classroom, outside the classroom, as well as in the staff-room. I also discuss findings from the study of school documents. In the classroom, the following were observed:

- (a) Students sitting arrangement.
- (b) Student- teacher interaction
- (c) Student-student interaction
- (d) Use of the textbooks, charts and other learning aids

Outside the classroom, the following were observed:

- (a) Morning assembly
- (b) The playground

In the staff-room, the following were observed:

- (a) Teachers' sitting arrangement
- (b) Teacher-teacher interaction
- (c) Teacher-principal interaction
- (d) Tea-time

The documents I studied included:

- (a) Correspondence from the principal's office (circulars and notices)
- (b) Scheme books, preparation books and students' reports

6.2.1. In the classroom

| OBSERVATION | CLASS A - TYPING | CLASS B - SCIENCE |
|------------------------------------|--|--|
| (a) Students' sitting arrangement. | (a) Mixed sitting. There was no set rule. | (a) Boys sat on one side girls sat on one side. |
| (b) Student- teacher interaction. | (b) Teacher gave students individual attention, helped students with their machines. | (b) - Girls asked to clean up chalkboard, experiment apparatus. - Girls more active than boys, more answers from girls than boys. |
| (c) Learner- learner Interaction. | (c) There were no group activities, but students interacted freely with each other, like helping each other with their machines. More boys finished typing given script within given time. | (c) Individual exercise, students write down observation from experiment in their exercise books. More girls finished before the boys. |
| (c) Use of learning aids | (d) Students asked randomly to demonstrate use of machine: both boys and girls. | (d) Girl read from activity book. Girl wrote on the board |

In the typing class, the students were given equal opportunity to take part in class activities. There was also no particular sitting place assigned for boys or girls; students sat wherever they liked. During class activities, boys and girls interacted freely with each other, like helping each other with their machines. There was no question of boys dominating the activities; contrary to Measor and Sikes' (1992)

belief that boys dominate lessons and get more attention from the teacher than the girls.

It was interesting to note that boys finished class activities faster than girls. Even more interesting was the fact that Typing was taught by a male teacher, contrary to the belief that Typing is a girls' or women's subject or occupation.

In the Science class, however, the teacher (female) was inclined to pay more attention to the girls than the boys (students of her own gender). For example, she asked the girls to clean up the chalkboard after a lesson or the apparatus after an experiment. Could this be interpreted as an unconscious role rehearsal, that is, girls being prepared for their societal role as "housekeepers"? Girls were also asked to read from the activity book or write something on the chalkboard. The reason might be, as some feminists argue, that girls are required to be more cooperative than boys.

The sitting arrangement in this class was segregated; girls sat on one side of the classroom and boys sat on the other side of the classroom. According to Thorne (1992), when children choose seats in the classrooms or cafeteria, or get into line, they frequently arrange themselves in same- sex clusters.

Another interesting observation was that more answers came from girls than boys. Girls also finished class exercises before boys did. This was contrary to the psychoanalytic feminists' belief that Science is a boys' or men's subject (Measor: 1984).

From the above observations, one can conclude that in the typing class, taught by a male teacher, there was more gender equity than in the Science class, taught by a female teacher.

6.2.2.Outside the classroom

6.2.2.1. At assembly

Assembly is normally conducted in the morning, before classes begin. On clear, sunny days, students and teachers assemble outside at an open assembly square. On cold or rainy days, they assemble in the school hall. This is where the school principal makes announcements and addresses the whole school on administrative and academic issues. The following are observations I made at these assemblies:

- - Students stand or sit by class. Girls stand or sit at the front and boys stand or sit at the back. This is different from the sitting arrangement I observed in the classroom.
- Any student, male or female, can start a song or chorus.
- All teachers, both male and female, take turns to conduct morning assembly. A duty roster is drawn up for each school term. Only the teacher on duty stands in front of the students, the rest of the teachers stand or sit behind the students.

6.2.2.2. In the playground

Here, my observation was made during morning short break and during the lunch break.

Boys tended to move together in clusters of about four or five. Girls tended to move individually or in pairs. This seems to accord with Thorne's (1992) observation that girls' worlds are less public than those of boys'. He argues that girls more often interact in private places and in small groups or friendship pairs. Boys, on the other hand, tend to interact in larger, more age-heterogeneous groups.

6.2.3. In the staff-room

6.2.3.1 Teachers' sitting arrangement

Besides the main staff-room, there are departmental staff-rooms. In the main staff-room the sitting arrangement is mixed.

- Because of the sizes of the departmental staff-rooms, teachers' desks are arranged along the walls.
- In the junior science staff-room, the two teachers were both female.
- In the junior typing staff-room, the teacher was male.

6.2.3.2. Teacher-teacher interaction

Teachers were interacting freely with each other, irrespective of gender, unlike the students, who formed sex-segregated clusters.

6.2.3.3. Teacher- principal interaction

There was a friendly and cordial relationship between the school principal and the rest of the staff, both male and female. The teachers moved freely in and out of the principal's office and she would move freely into the classrooms and staff-rooms.

6.2.3.4 Tea- time

Each teacher is responsible for providing and making his/her own tea, but teachers were free to share whatever they had with whoever they wished to, irrespective of gender. The same applied during the lunch break.

6.2.4. Prefects

The school has a head boy and a head girl as well as a deputy head boy and a deputy head girl. This is a policy that is practiced in all schools in Swaziland. The principal explained that the head prefects have equal status; no one is senior to the other. In addition, each class has its own class prefects: a girl and a boy. In this way, both boys' and girls' issues are catered for. One wonders, however, if this is not an unconscious demonstration of role diversification, where boys and girls have different gendered roles to play.

6.2.5. School documents

6.2.5.1. Correspondence from the principal's office

These included student and teachers' enrolment for the year 2001 and the duty roster for morning assembly.

i. The student enrolment was as follows:

| <u>Boys.</u> | <u>Girls.</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 282. | 318. | 600. |

The figures above show that there were more girls than boys enrolled in the school for the year 2001. However, this was not deliberate. The principal explained that enrolment in the school was by merit not by gender. Students have to sit and pass an entry test to qualify for admission into the school.

ii. The teachers' enrolment, including the Principal, was as follows:

| <u>Male teachers.</u> | <u>Female teachers.</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 13. | 20. | 33. |

The above figures show that female teachers outnumbered the male teachers. When asked why there were more female teachers than male teachers, the principal

explained that, in the previous years there had been more male teachers than female teachers. According to her, the school administration was trying to make a gender balance.

- iii. The duty roster for morning assembly included all teachers, both male and female. No one was exempted from this duty. The principal prepared a new roster at the beginning of each school term. Class or subject teachers drew students' rosters for the individual classroom duties, like cleaning.

6.2.5.2. Other documents

- i. In the class attendance register, the list of male students was written separately from the list of female students. In this way teachers were able to compare students' absence by gender. For example, at the end of each term teachers make a summary of the student class attendance by gender and this is reflected in the class register.
- ii. In the scheme and performance record books, the list of male students was also written separately from the list of female students. In this way, teachers easily compared students' performance by gender. For example, In the typing class I observed that girls' grades ranged between 65% and 95%. Boys' grades, on the other hand, ranged between 5% and 100%. In the science class I observed that girls' grades for test one ranged between 25% and 95% while boys' grades ranged between 42% and 92%. For test two, girls' grades ranged between 23% and 98% while boys' grades ranged between 44% and 84%. I must point out that since my study was done at the beginning of the second term, these were grades for the first term only. It would therefore be too soon to conclude which student gender performed better than the other gender.

From the observation I have described in this section, I came to the conclusion that the school practices indicate that the school is practising gender equity, although at a formal level. There is still some indication of gender stereotyping

6.3 SECTION THREE: RESPONSES TO GENDER EQUITY

This section covers responses from students', teachers' and parents' questionnaires.

6.3.1. Profile of the subjects of my study

In this part I give a brief description of the subjects of my study; that is, their gender, age range as well as their academic levels.

The students

These were Form 2 students (second year of secondary school) who included 16 boys and 14 girls. The boys ranged between the ages 14 and 17 years and the girls ranged between the ages 13 and 18 years.

The teachers

These were both male and female teachers. The male teachers ranged between the ages 25-30 and the female teachers also ranged between the ages 25-30, except one who was above the age of 30. They all hold diplomas or certificates which qualify them to teach the subjects they teach at secondary level.

The parents

These were both male and female parents, all in the mid 40s in age. They all have high school education and are in gainful employment. This might have influenced their responses.

The responses will be discussed under the following themes.

- A. Subject choice
- B. Classroom interaction
- C. Extra-curricular activities
- D. Students'/ teachers' gender preference
- E. Gender equality

6.3.2 SUBJECT CHOICE

3.2.1. Students’ responses

When asked to state the 5 subjects they most enjoyed studying, the responses were as follows:

| GIRLS’ RESPONSES | BOYS’ RESPONSES |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Science - 11 out of 14 | Mathematics – 12 out of 16 |
| English - 11 out of 14 | English - 11 out of 16 |
| Mathematics - 11 out of 14 | Science - 10 out of 16 |
| Geography - 7 out of 14 | Accounts - 9 out of 16 |
| Accounts - 7 out of 14 | Agriculture - 6 out of 16 |
| Home Economics – 6 out of 14 | |
| SiSwati - 6 out of 14 | |

The above responses show that the majority of students, both boys and girls, enjoy studying English, Mathematics and Science. But, since all students at this level are expected to do these subjects as they are core subjects, it is not clear what the students meant by saying that they “enjoy” studying them. As far as the other subjects are concerned, Geography is one of the girls’ favourite subjects. Since Geography is sometimes regarded as a Science subject, this is contrary to the belief that Science is a boys’ or men's subject. The other girls’ favourite subjects are Home Economics and Siswati (equal number of girls who enjoy studying each of these subjects). This goes along with feminist observation that girls were expected to study Home Economics or the Arts subjects (Wrigley, 1992). The girls might be complying with this social expectation more than enjoying the subject.

The boys’ choice of Agriculture goes along with the belief that Agriculture is a boys’ or men's subject; which is surprising, since in most African communities it is the women who work on the fields.

Both boys and girls enjoy studying accounts. But the number of girls who enjoy studying accounts is equal to the number of girls who enjoy studying Geography.

Following are some of the reasons given by students for their subject choice:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- 'I chose them because I know that at the end I can be a pilot or I can be a nurse'.
- 'It's because it goes with my career. It is because I want to be an accountant or a doctor, so the subjects will help in this things'.
- 'It is because I want to be a doctor and these subjects will help me when proceeding to study this occupation of my dreams'.
- 'Because I can understand them easily'.
- 'I choose them because when I am studying I understand them, they are easy to study'.

The above responses show that some of the girls in this class made their subject choice in relation to future career choice and others chose the subjects because they are easy to study and understand. It appeared the latter wanted to remain in their 'comfort zone'. Most of the girls wanted to pursue careers as a doctor, nurse or pilot. No wonder they listed Science as one of the subjects they enjoy studying, since they have to have a knowledge of Science in order to study for these careers. Traditionally, being a doctor or pilot have, for a long time, been regarded as men's professions or occupations. Nursing has been regarded as a women's occupation. The girls' responses, therefore, demonstrate a shift from this norm.

The girls who chose the subjects because they merely 'understand' them are not studying towards a particular profession. The subjects, therefore, seem to give the girls a sense of achievement.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- 'I chose these subjects because I hope they will help me to find the job I am willing to do when I leave school'.
- 'It is because you can get a place at University with these subjects'.
- 'It is because I do best with them and they will help me when I grow up, with my career'.
- 'I chose these subjects because they are practical subjects and they will help me when I am old and looking for a job'.
- 'I love these subjects because I get the highest marks on these subjects'.
- 'Because these subjects I enjoy. I pass them very well'.

Most boys also made their subject choice in relation to furthering their education at University and ultimately their future career choices. Unfortunately, unlike the girls, the boys did not specify which careers they would like to pursue. It would, therefore, be difficult to say if their career choices were gender stereotyped or not. A few of the boys did not aspire for any particular profession, but chose the subjects because they make the boys achievers: they merely 'pass them well'.

6.3.2.2. Teachers' responses

Following are reasons given by teachers for the choice of the subjects they teach:

FEMALE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

- I like it because it is practical than theoretical.
- I like the subject and it is a subject I was trained to teach.
- I like Science.

The above responses indicate a shift from the old belief that Science is a subject normally chosen by men. The fact that some female teachers 'like' Science and decided to choose it as one of their teaching subjects, and the fact that one regarded

it as ‘practical’ is a further demonstration of this shift. However, it is not clear what she meant by being ‘practical’.

MALE TEACHER’S RESPONSES

- I like the subject and it’s very important in the society we live in today. Everywhere you go and everything you touch is about money so accounting is to be applied.

The above response shows that the male teacher in this sample looked at the relevance of the subject (accounts) to real life; that is, the applicability of the subject to everyday activities.

6.3.2.3. parents’ responses

Following are the parents’ responses on subject choice:

FEMALE PARENTS’ RESPONSES

- There is no subject differentiation between boys and girls. It is the children themselves that choose the subjects they learn. It is good to note though, that subjects as Home Economics is now a core subject for even boys.
- Children at school should study all in the curriculum regardless of sex. There is no subject for boys and that of girls.

The above responses are an indication of the female parents’ “enlightenment” on the issue of gender equality and equal opportunities (especially mental ability) between boys and girls. Even though they might have been marginalized during their school days, they are now conscious enough to want their children to be given equal opportunities in life. These responses might have b

een motivated by the parents' level of education. They may have been to school long enough to realize the social injustices against women and have also been made aware of the girls' rights.

MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- Girls and boys should do any subject of their liking. There should be no subject for a specific sex.
- Let boys and girls choose subjects of their choices. Boys and girls are capable of achieving in any subject.
- Some schools still reserve certain subjects for girls and boys only, especially Home Economics and technical subjects. However, a few heads of schools have realized that children should be given subjects of their liking. For instance, cooking be also given to boys as in hotels you would find men serving and cooking.

The above responses show that even the male parents in this sample have been conscientized on the issue of giving equal opportunity to boys and girls. This is demonstrated by the men's assertion that boys and girls should be allowed to do the subjects of their choice.

When asked if they would mind their daughters studying subjects like Woodwork and Engineering or their sons studying subjects like Home Economics and Dressmaking, the parents gave the following responses:

FEMALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- I would not mind. We do need female Engineers and also boys can be very creative in fashion design.
- No job was cut out for males or females. It is just socialization and stereotyping.

MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- I would not mind, as long as it is their choice because this would ensure that my children are empowered sufficiently for survival or face life.
- I would not mind at all. This would widen her scope and opportunities in the job market and economic viability
- That would be marvelous. I have seen models of women in Engineering.

The above responses show that all the parents in this sample felt that subject choice should not be gender oriented. They relate subject choice to future career choice and survival in life.

6.3.3. CLASSROOM INTERACTION

6.3.3.1. Students' responses

When asked if they felt they were involved in class activities, 13 out of 14 girls (93%) responded in the affirmative and 9 out of 16 boys (56%) felt they were satisfactorily taking part in class activities. The rest responded in the negative. This shows that girls participated more than boys in class activities.

11 out of 14 girls (79%) and 6 out of 16 boys (38%) agreed that the activities are usually group activities. This indicates a high level of participation by all students. The rest either said the activities were individual or sometimes group and sometimes individual, depending on the topic being discussed. Both boys and girls

commented that the group activities involved boys and girls working together, that is, 12 out of 14 girls (86%) and 12 out of 16 boys (75%). The percentages indicate that the majority of girls are pleased with the way that they are handled in this class. This could be the result of the teachers' efforts to involve girls more in class activities or that girls are easier to please than boys.

Following are some of the reasons given by girls for their affirmative responses:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Especially in Home Economics where we do practicals/ cooking and in Geography because the teachers make sure that we understand.
- Because each subject have something that we have to do with partner and we do activities.
- Because the teachers always check if we are all involved in activities and we are all given the opportunity to take part.
- When we do activities we do them all and no one is left out.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- I get enough opportunity in activities, I understand more.
- Especially in Home Economics where we do practicals/cooking and in Geography because the teacher makes sure that we say we understand the topic, he ask each person at a time to explain what he taught.
- Because we all participate in them. It feels as if I am at home, actually I feel free.

The above response show that, to students in this sample, being involved in class activities means doing practical work, for example, in Home Economics and Science or being given equal opportunity to ask or answer questions during a lesson.

Following are reasons given by the students who responded in the negative:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Because we don't have enough time for each subject to participate all of us the same day.

The above response shows that the girl who responded in the negative attributed her non-involvement in class activities to limited time and not deliberate denial of opportunity by the teacher.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- It's because we are usually out in most activities.
- Because some of my classmates look down upon me.
- Because I am shy.
- Sometimes yes and sometimes no.

Boys on the other hand attributed their non-involvement in class activities to absenteeism during the lesson (It's because we are usually out in most activities) and also to students' personality. It is possible that the boys do not want to appear weak in the presence of girls. Therefore, they would rather not participate in class activities than try and fail in the presence of their female classmates. This sensitivity is particularly reflected in the comment (Because some of my classmates look down upon me) or (Because I am shy).

6.3.3.2. Teachers' responses

When asked if they give students enough opportunity to be involved in class activities, all the teachers responded to the affirmative. Following are the reasons they gave for their responses:

FEMALE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

- So that I get to know their strengths and weaknesses in any activity given to them.
- Because Science is a subject which involves a lot of experiments, which students have to carry out in groups or individually.

For the female teachers, the aim of engaging students in class activities is to enable the teacher to detect the students' strengths and weaknesses, in order to help them improve their performance, irrespective of the students' gender. Another reason is the nature of the subject: Science is a practical subject that involves a lot of experiments.

MALE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

- Kids are free to ask and explain what they learned. I don't use the lecture method of teaching.

For the male teacher, engaging the students (both male and female) in class activities is more a matter of teaching methodology (lecture method vs activity method) than a display of gender equality.

One can, therefore, conclude that there is a satisfactory level of gender equity, as far as classroom interaction is concerned; shown by both the students' and teachers' responses.

6.3.4. EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The most popular extra-curricula activities for girls are netball and choral music, and 9 out of 14 girls (64%) agree that these activities are and should be meant for both boys and girls.

8 out of 16 boys (50%), on the other hand, take part in soccer , and feel that both boys and girls should be allowed to take part in the sport. There are a few, however, who feel that activities like netball and drum majorettes should be for girls only. Following are some of the reasons the students gave for their positive responses:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Because maybe the other group which is not allowed to do that sport have the talent of doing that sport.
- So that boys and girls will know how to do the game or play it.
- I would like both to take part because both boys and girls have to know about how to be healthy.
- I would like boys to take part in the game so that they can understand it too, because most girls do understand football and boys don't understand netball.

From the above responses, the girls in this sample are aware of gender injustices in extra- curricular activities such as sports. For example, the girls are aware that boys are deprived of the chance to play netball, whereas girls have a chance to play soccer. They feel that the boys should also be given a chance to play netball so that they can understand it, like girls understand soccer.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Some of them also want to play this sport (soccer).
- Some girls are talented in this sport and the same thing applies on boys, so boys and girls must take this sport.
- Because they need to be fit.
- It is because they may help them when they finish school, some people maybe they will not find job.

The above responses show that, for boys in this sample, taking part in a particular extracurricular activity should be an individual choice and should not be determined

by gender. Anyone capable of playing a particular sport should be allowed to do so. They are also aware that girls need to be fit as much as boys do. One boy even looked at sports beyond school, but as a source of income ('It is because they may help them when they finish school, some people maybe they will not find job').

Those who responded to the negative gave the following reasons:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Because it was made for girl and boys cannot wear skirts.
- Boys are sometimes rough.
- Because boys' sport is football instead of netball.
- Because they are sometimes rude.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Because most of the girls can't play football and football was made for boys only. The same as girls, boys can't play netball and netball was meant for girls only.
- Because girls are weak and boys are strong, so girls will get tired quickly.
- Because some sport that boys play are usually rough, for example football, we sometimes jump to someone else's leg and it breaks.

The above responses show that the students who responded in the negative have been socialized to think that a particular gender cannot play a certain sport because of their biological disposition and because of the nature of the game. To this group of students there should be clear-cut gender roles.

It is evident that although both students and teachers agree in principle that extra-curricula activities should be open for both boys and girls, in practice there is gender segregation as far as participating in extra-curricula activities is concerned.

6.3.5 GENDER PREFERENCE

Some students in this sample prefer being taught by male teachers while others prefer female teachers, for various reasons. The same applies to teachers: some prefer teaching male students while others prefer teaching female students. Parents also have their preferences, especially in the case of the gender of the school principal. This section, therefore, examines the various responses on the question of gender preference.

3.5.1. Students’ responses

The following chart shows students’ responses about their teacher gender preference:

| RESPONDENTS | PREFERED FEMALE TEACHERS | PREFERED MALE TEACHERS | EITHER |
|-------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| GIRLS | 8 | 4 | 3 |
| BOYS | 3 | 5 | 6 |

The above data shows that about 50% of the female students in this sample preferred being taught by female teachers, 25% preferred being taught by male teachers, while another 25% did not mind being taught by teachers of either gender. 19% of the boys preferred female teachers, 31% preferred male teachers and 38% did not mind being taught by teachers of either gender.

Following are some of the reasons given by students who preferred being taught by teachers of the same gender:

GIRLS’ RESPONSES

- Because they easily understand your problem while male teachers don’t. Male usually concentrate in boy, female concentrate in both girls and boys.

- Because they are nice and they sometimes forgive and it is easy to communicate with them when you have a problem.
- As a female I find it easier to talk to another female openly.
- Because female teachers are merciful than male teachers, they act as our mothers, they help us a great deal.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Because they don't shout at us, they just beat us for what we have done.
- Because I am a man and male teachers are talented in teaching, most male teachers beat very well and we do the homework.
- Because I am not afraid to go to them alone and ask about what I don't understand and most of them are friendly to boys.
- Because they always smile and they are sometimes playing with us.

The above responses show that students, both boys and girls in this sample preferred teachers of their same gender because they related to them better than teachers of the opposite gender. The students felt teachers of the same gender understand their problems better than teachers of the opposite gender.

The responses, however, portray a picture of masculine and feminine roles played by the teachers. For example, female students see female teachers as 'mothers', 'forgiving' and 'nice'. Boys' responses, on the other hand, reflect images of masculinity and fear. They associate teachers with 'shouting' and 'beating'. Females are, therefore, portrayed as the 'soft' gender and males are portrayed as the 'tough' gender.

Following are responses of students who prefer being taught by teachers of the opposite gender:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Because females are too talkative and they like talking vulgar languages, if you have done something wrong. Male ones teaches very smoothly and perfect.
- Because female they don't understand your problems, but male can understand your problems you are facing.

The girls' responses above indicate internalized sexism and stereotypes and also internalized negative images of women. Women are associated with being 'talkative', 'vulgar'

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Because she always teaches us well with respect and we also respect her even in class, she do not beat us very hard like a male.
- Because a female is kinder than a male.

Boys, on the other hand, recognized the nurturing nature of female teachers. One boy sees females as 'kind'. The other also associates 'beating' with male teachers.

6.3.5.2. Teachers' responses

Following are the responses given by teachers on the issue of students they prefer to teach:

| RESPONDENTS | PREFER TEACHING GIRLS | PREFER TEACHING BOYS | PREFER TEACHING BOTH |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| FEMALE TEACHERS | 2 | - | 1 |
| MALE TEACHERS | - | - | 1 |

The above responses show that most female teachers in the sample preferred teaching students of their own gender and the male teacher is at ease with students of either gender.

The teachers gave the following reasons for their preferences:

FEMALE TEACHERS’ RESPONSES

- They are obedient and they never refuse to take punishment.
- Because they are less violent as compared to boys.
- the one who enjoys teaching both boys and girls gave the following reason:
- Because I can learn many things from them.

The above responses show that the female teachers in the sample preferred teaching female students because they regard them as easier to handle than boys are.

MALE TEACHERS’ RESPONSES

- Kids are the same

The male teacher has no problem dealing with students of either gender. One reason could be that he does not recognize the different needs of the students (boys and girls).

He may simply be taking the male "norm as given and unproblematic.

Asked if they preferred a male or female school principal, the teachers gave the following responses:

| RESPONDENTS | PREFER FEMALE | PREFER MALE | PREFER EITHER |
|----------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| FEMALE TEACHERS’ RESPONSES | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| MALE TEACHERS’ RESPONSES | | | 1 |

The teachers gave the following reasons for their preference:

FEMALE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

- Either of the two is OK for me.
- Male are authoritative.
- Female do things in a more organized way than male.

The response of the teacher who prefers a male school principal reflects a gendered understanding of authority and internalized sexism. She buys into the purported dominant and authoritative nature of males. It appears that she equates administration with 'authority'. This implies that females have no authority, ('Male are authoritative'). Askew and Ross (1988) argue that "Schools, as social institutions, are established as 'masculine' structures in which boys and girls need to operate in 'masculine' terms in order to succeed" (p.43).

One teacher prefers a female school principal because females are more 'organized' than males. This is also an internalized stereotype. This implies that being organized is a trait that can only be observed in women.

MALE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

- Either a male or female makes no difference to me, as long as he/she knows and respects the position and his/her subjects.

For the male teacher, on the other hand, the gender of a school principal does not matter, but what matters is the administrative qualities and abilities of the school principal, which include respect for the position s/he holds in the school, as well as respect for his/ her subordinates.

6.3.5.3. Parents' responses

When asked if it matters whether the school principal is male or female, the parents gave the following responses:

| RESPONDENTS | IT MATTERS | IT DOESN'T MATTER |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| FEMALE PARENTS' RESPONSES | - | 2 |
| MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES | 2 | 1 |

The above responses show that for female parents in this sample the gender of the school principal was of no importance, whereas male parents felt the gender of the school principal mattered. Only one male parent felt that it did not matter what gender the school principal was.

Following are reasons the parents gave for their responses:

FEMALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- It is not the sex/gender that manages – it is the character, management style and the environment. In fact it would be good if the head teacher and deputy being both sexes to take care of the different needs and expectations.
- Administration is not run by sex but by experience and being educated, qualifying for that post. A woman too can be a leader. We have seen them, they prove to be good as well.

The first response reflects an internalized socialization on gender roles. The teacher would like to have the school principal and the deputy to be of different genders; 'to take care of different needs and expectations' that is, the needs of boys and girls require specialist male or female attention. The second respondent, on the other hand, may not be aware of the different needs of boys and girls.

MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- There is nothing special which in school leadership being a certain sex. Ladies have proved that they can perform as good as men if not better.
- At times it matters if a head teacher is a female because they tend to have a motherly approach and they stick to the intuitions. However, mentally, all are capable to lead institutions. The main undoing for men is that they tend to leave schools and run their businesses. Otherwise if they stay in their schools productivity to be the same.
- It does make a difference. This is so because we (male and females) tend to play our God-given roles even in the way we do our work. Even as head teacher, a man would act as a father in the school while a woman would be motherly in all her administrative activities.

The last two male respondents show an internalized socialization on gender roles. One talks of female school principals as having a 'motherly approach'. The other talks of 'God-given roles' and sees a man as 'a father' and a woman as 'motherly' in the school.

One male parent in this sample looks for ability and capability in an administrator. To him gender is not important.

6.3.6. GENDER EQUALITY

6.3.6.1. Students' responses

The following chart shows students' responses on whether boys and girls should be treated equally:

| RESPONDENTS | YES | NO |
|-------------|-----|----|
| GIRLS | 12 | 3 |
| BOYS | 12 | 2 |

The above data shows that the majority of both boys and girls advocate for equality between boys and girls. Following are some of the reasons they gave for their responses:

GIRLS’ RESPONSES

- Because we are all equal to each other, they shouldn’t treat boys as not equal to girls. We are the same.
- Because even boys can do the same job as the girls do, like washing dishes and they can even be employed in the same jobs as women.
- All students must work at school both boys and girl should clean the school.
- Because we are all children or kids. We should be treated the same. No one is better than the other.
- Because we are all equal in the eyes of the Lord.

BOYS’ RESPONSES

- Because we are both equal and I don’t see any reason why the boy must be treated like kings, especially at home.
- Because the Bible says you must treat people as you would like to be treated, we are all equal no one is better than anyone.
- Because we are the one and the same people, only that one is a male and the one is a female and we also pay the same price both boys and girls and we are being taught one and the same things.
- No one is better than anyone and we are all human beings.

The above responses show that the majority of students in this sample understand equality in terms of doing the same jobs, for example, washing dishes at home and cleaning classrooms at school. They also conceive equality from the Biblical point of view, that is, ‘we are all equal in the eyes of the Lord’.

When asked whether boys and girls are actually treated equally, the students gave the following responses:

| RESPONDENTS | YES | NO |
|-------------|-----|----|
| GIRLS | 11 | 2 |
| BOYS | 9 | 5 |

The above responses show that 56% of the boys and 79% of the girls in this sample agree that students are treated equally in the school. However, 31% of the boys and 14% of the girls responded in the negative. This means that that more girls than boys are satisfied with the way they are treated in the school, in relation to the boys.

Following are some of the reasons the students gave for their positive responses to whether boys and girls are treated equally in the school:

GIRLS’ RESPONSES

- Because when we done something wrong both girls and boys they give us equal punishment.
- Because when we haven’t done the work they gave us they punish us equally.
- At school the teachers treat us equally because we all do the same jobs and they punish us the same way.
- Because at school we all do the work in a same time. No one tell us that boys don’t have to pick up papers and not clean their own classrooms, we all do it when we are in duty.
- Because when they punish us they punish us equally.

- Both boys and girls are cleaning the school. We are beaten equally. Even the principal treat us equally.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Because when they make rules they are for us all and no one shouldn't participate.
- Because if someone do something wrong he/she is beaten, no one is forgiven and both girls and boys are beaten by one, the teachers don't change the sticks if they are beating a girl or a boy, they use the same stick.
- Because if we have done something wrong they will use the same punishment.
- Because they treat us equally, beat us equally and we pay the same fee.
- Because we are all doing the same, even in school work and some of the sports. They all teach boys and girls together.

From the above responses, the majority of students, both boys and girls, in this sample perceive equal treatment in terms of punishment, that is, they refer to 'punishment' and 'beating'. Here, there is no question of girls being victimized compared to boys. No heavier punishment is meted to one gender than the other. However, the responses reflect a patriarchal approach to education, where rule by the stick is accepted.

Following are some of the reasons given by the students who responded in the negative:

GIRLS' RESPONSES

- Because sometimes they treat us girls in a different way, almost male teachers and female teachers treat boy on a different way from girls.
- Like when we are being threshed, for example we were making noise (the whole class) the teacher who is choosy will treat boys severely or beat girls severely. Sometimes he/she will beat hard the student he/she hates.

The above responses, suprisingly, show that girls felt it was the boys who were unjustly treated by the teachers, especially the male teachers who victimized the students they did not like.

BOYS' RESPONSES

- Because teachers treat girls like queens.
- Because sometimes when we are being beaten the girls are beaten softly while the boys are beaten roughly.
- Because they were not skilled for health care but were skilled for teaching.
- Because sometimes they always blame the boys for every big damage discovered or any stealing in the class.
- No ----- (sic)

The boys' responses, on the other hand, reflect the negative attitude the boys had towards the girls. One boy refers to girls as "queens" and feel that teachers regard boys as the tough gender (boys being beaten "roughly" and also blaming the boys for every mishap in the class). This is the boys' perception of inequality in treatment between boys and girls, which they sense as internalized sexism, which is demonstrated by the behavior of teachers in the school. In the area of punishment, the girls are given preferential treatment. Askew and Ross (1988) argue that discipline, particularly in boys' schools, is often characterized by authoritarian power and control through strength (p. 43). In a deeply patriarchal school, boys are subjected to harsher measures than girls.

6.3.6.2. Parents' responses

When asked if they believed in equality between men and women in society in general, all the parents, both male and female responded to the affirmative. Following are their reasons for their responses:

FEMALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- All/both sexes are equal in the eyes of God
- I'm tired of playing second fiddle in this country. I want to be seen, heard and participating actively in the government of this my country.

The first response, might be a compliance to religious expectation on human behaviour, rather than an awareness of gender equity. The second response is an indication that some women are now conscious of having been marginalized by society and now want to do something about this state of affairs.

MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- Because they are all human beings with the same capabilities.
- I do believe in that because all groups are mentally capable.
- To a certain extent.
- By creation men and women cannot be 100% equal-our roles are different and incomparable.
- But if given equality status, women can contribute a lot to the quality of life.

The male parents, although believing in gender equality, only look at the mental capabilities of men and women, but still feel the need for differentiated gender roles. One says 'our roles are different and incomparable'. Another believes in gender equality 'to some extent', which means that they believes that men and women can never be completely equal.

When asked what they understood by equality between men and women, the parents gave the following responses:

FEMALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- - Sharing of duties at home
 - Equal job opportunities
 - Equal representation in parliament etc.
 - Equal salaries/pay at work.
- - Equal work for equal pay.
 - Laws must apply equally to both.
 - Equal status in marriage - be no minor.
 - Equal responsibilities.
 - Equal status in community.

MALE PARENTS' RESPONSES

- Equal opportunities to education, finances, land and sharing of duties.
- Equality means same chances, opportunities availed between men and women excluding those biological differences.
- Equal opportunities in all spheres of life, i.e., economically, socially, politically, spiritually etc.

The above responses show that both male and female parents in this sample perceive equality between men and women in terms of salary, education opportunities, responsibilities and status at home and in the work place.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter is in three parts. The first part is a brief summary of the discussion in the preceding chapters. The second part discusses the implications of my findings. The last part contains recommendations for further research.

7.1 Summary

In chapter one I discussed research which indicates that women occupy a marginal position in society and that they have been socialized not to challenge the superior position of men. Friedan (1965), cited by Perumal (1997), describes women's position with the following observation: "The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of...women" (Friedan, 1965: 13). I discussed the marginalization of women in the follow areas:

- i. women in the family - where patriarchy and gender relations are important elements of the family structure.
- ii. women and the legal system - where the situation of Swazi women is further compounded by the dual legal system, that is, there is the common law and the Swazi customary law operating concurrently.
- iii. women and land acquisition - where women do not own land and cannot secure bank loans without the consent or signature of the husband or any other male.
- iv. women and the workplace - where very few women hold managerial positions.
- v. women and the schools - where few schools have female head teachers and the curriculum is still sex-oriented.

I also discussed some interventions towards women's emancipation.

Lastly, I defined some of the terms that I used with reference to the feminist theories that have informed my thesis.

In chapter two I discussed some of the different feminist theories on the question of gender inequality and their approach to women's liberation. The feminist theories that I discussed are:

- i. Liberal feminist theory - which appeals to the central principles of liberty, equality and fairness for all.
- ii. Socialist feminist theory - which is based on the Marxist theory that inequality is the result of the economic, social and political structures in which people live, and views gendered education as an important agent in the capitalist superstructure.
- iii. Radical feminist theory - which asserts that it is patriarchy that oppresses women and that women's subordination stems from the social, economic and political dominance of men in society.
- iv. Psychoanalytic feminist theory - which places importance on sexuality, particularly female sexuality and argues that society has many taboos on sexuality in general and female sexuality in particular.
- v. Postmodern feminist theory - which is concerned with the question: how do our very efforts to liberate perpetuate the relations of dominance.
- vi. Third World feminist theory – which takes the issue of discrimination further than gender and is linked to race relations and often imperialism.

In each of the above theories I discussed the following:

- (a) Tenets of the theory
- (b) The theory's views on education
- (c) Criticism of the theory

The above theories, except the Third World feminist theory, place emphasis on the centrality of gender divisions to the way a society works. Third World feminists, on the other hand, take women's oppression beyond gender inequality, "the struggle of Third World feminists is, therefore, connected to the struggles of their communities against racism and economic exploitation" (Johnson-Odim, 1991).

These theories also differ in their approaches to feminism on the following aspects:

- i. The causes of women's oppression and the importance they give to patriarchy
- ii. Programmes of change
- iii. The ultimate goal for society

Liberal feminists place reliance on legal remedies, and have taken up the cause of legal reform to ensure that women have equal opportunities with men.

The Marxist programme of change suggests that the working class, which is oppressed by capitalism, must conduct a revolution to liberate themselves.

The Radical feminists advocate the abolishing of existing legal, political and social structures, if women's emancipation is to be achieved.

Psychoanalytic feminists advocate for an 'interior revolution'. They insist that women must do more than fight for their rights as citizens, but must also probe the depths of their psyche.

Postmodern feminists challenge the fundamental dichotomies of Enlightenment because of its gender bias. Postmodernism is viewed as having the ability to reveal some of the errors of contemporary feminist positions.

Third world feminists focus more on the problems of imperialism than the problems of gender per se. They locate the primary source of women's oppression in the Western World in relationship to the Third world.

Chapter three outlines a review of some of the literature available on what feminists say about gender inequality in general and gender inequality in the school in particular. In this review, it transpired that the school plays a big part in constructing, defining and reinforcing gender roles and gender identity. This view criticizes the role played by the school in gender socialization and the way the school disadvantages girls. These gender imbalances are observed in the attitudes and stereotypes that teachers may hold towards male and female students. Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. (1993) cite Wright, C. (1986) as arguing that the way teachers treat girls, in comparison with boys, also lowers the girls' self-esteem. The stereotyped attitudes about boys and girls have a fundamental effect on the processes of education in relation to teaching style and methodology and the way in which boys and girls negotiate learning.

The way the curriculum is dominated by boys' interests also makes the girls feel left out. This, according to Woods, P. and Hammersley, M. (1993) explains what happens in relation to curriculum choice, where boys choose the sciences and girls choose the arts and domestic science.

In chapter four I discussed the research design and methodology I used in this thesis. I described the population and sample of the case under study. I also explained my access to the school, giving a brief background of the school. I went on to explain that I was doing a case study and gave a brief description of some of the tenets of a case study. In this chapter I also explained how I collected my data: the instruments I used for collecting the data and the subjects I studied. For the analysis of the data I explained that I used a content analysis method grounded on the feminist theory of gender socialization.

In chapter five I began by giving a brief description of the school where I did my study, that is, how it fits into the general education structure of Swaziland. I went on to discuss the observations I made during my stay in the school. Lastly, I did an analysis of the data I collected from the school, through questionnaires and interviews. I explained that the data was analyzed under the following themes:

- i. Subject choice
- ii. Classroom interaction
- iii. Extra-curricular activities
- iv. Students' / teachers' gender preference
- v. Gender equality

I went on to discuss students', teachers' and parents' responses were under each of the above themes.

7.2. Implications of the findings.

From the responses of all the subjects of my study, that is, teachers, students and parents and from my personal observation, it is evident that the school demonstrates a conscious and/or unconscious shift towards liberal humanist gender equality.

The responses indicate that the school has shown a large measure of success in practicing gender equality, as conceptualized in the liberal feminist theory. In chapter two I pointed out that the liberal feminists emphasize the fact that all men and women should have equal rights and that any legal or social constraints that block the achievements and development of talented individuals from whatever gender, class or race should be abolished. Liberal feminism appeals to the central principles of liberty, equality and fairness for all, to justify women's rights (Measor and Sikes, 1992). According to this theory, all individuals have rights to freedom and autonomy and to a voice in how they are governed. This is particularly evident in the responses on issues such as equal treatment, access and opportunity.

In chapter two I also pointed out that liberal feminists worked for the provision of education for girls and their rights of access to educational institutions. The enrolment figures in the school I observed are an indication of this. The girls' enrolment is higher than the boys' enrolment. The head teacher's explanation on how this was arrived at is also an indication that girls have equal access to education as the boys in the school.

Woods and Hammersley (1993) argue that boys' interests have always dominated the curriculum. They have argued that in most schools the issue of subject choice has been gender stereotyped, that is, subjects such as Science, Agriculture and Technical subjects have always been regarded as boys' or men's subjects, while subjects such as Home Economics and Typing have been regarded as women's subjects. However, in the school where I did my study, there is a shift away from these stereotypes. Students study subjects of their choice, except the core subjects (English, Mathematics, Science and Science) which have to be done by all students. All the subjects of my study agreed that students should make their own choices. No subject should be reserved for a particular gender. The students, both male and female, make their subject choice in

relation to furthering their education and ultimately their future career choice. The male teacher based his subject choice on its importance to society and its applicability to life situations, while the female teachers opted for the subjects they 'liked'. All the parents agreed that there should be no restriction of certain subjects to a particular gender. In this regard, one can say that the girls in this school were not and did not feel 'left out'; and since the female students have no complaints about their subject choice (from their responses), this is an indication that, at a formal level, there is a satisfactory gender equality practiced at the school. Even the careers the students aspired to pursue were of their own choice. For example, girls chose to be doctors or pilots; jobs that had previously been considered a 'men's domain'.

French and French (1993) also argue that, in the classroom, girls have always been marginalized. For example, they felt that teachers paid more attention to and spent more time on boys than on girls. But in this case, when asked about classroom interaction, both students' and teachers' responses showed that the teachers give the students enough opportunity to be involved in class activities. The students' responses showed that more girls than boys were happy with the way they take part in class activities. My observation also revealed that the teachers balanced their attention among boys and girls, although this was less evident in the Science class, which was taught by a female teacher, who was sometimes inclined to attend to the girls more than the boys; for example, asking the girls to clean the chalkboard and also asking the girls to read from the book. Nevertheless, the teachers' practices show the difficulty of not acting out deeply unconscious gender preferences, in this case towards same-sex pupils.

The practices in this school, as shown through the sample I studied, are an opposite of the socialist feminists' argument that schools maintain a role of transmitting inequality. Socialist feminists argue that school practices perpetrate the unequal treatment of boys and girls, both inside and outside the classroom. But the responses of students (79% female and 56% male) are an indication that the school practices a satisfactory level of equality among boys and girls. This is also borne out by the choice of career by different genders, which indicates that girls feel free to move into domains previously 'reserved for men'.

Radical feminists demonstrate the way patriarchy spreads its web into schools and the power relationships between boys and girls. They claim that boys dominate schools and classrooms. But from my observations in the sample of my study and from the responses of both male and female students, there is no indication of male dominance in the classrooms I studied. The girls did not complain of being dominated by boys or of being neglected by their teachers.

Wringley (1992) also argues that there were gender stereotypes as far as extra-curricular activities such as sport were concerned. She argues that, in the first decades of the 1900s, school sports bound communities to the schools and created a male sports culture. In this school, although both students and teachers agreed that students were free to take part in any extra-curricular activity of their choice and no sport or club was reserved for a particular gender, in practice, however, the majority of boys tended to choose soccer, which is generally regarded as a boys' or men's sport. Girls went for netball or the other 'softer' games such as drum majorettes and other clubs. This indicated that there was still the belief that some sport is suitable for boys and other sport is suitable for girls.

On gender preference, the students' responses showed that more girls in this sample preferred being taught by female teachers. Boys in this sample preferred male teachers and an equal number of boys were not particular about the gender of the teachers who taught them. This is an indication that the majority of students prefer being taught by teachers of their own gender.

The reasons they gave showed that the teachers understood and related more with students of their same gender. Teachers' responses showed that the female teachers preferred teaching female students while to the male teacher it did not matter if the students were male or female. On the gender preference of the school principal, teachers did not mind if the principal was male or female. Female parents also did not mind if the principal was male or female. To male parent, however, it mattered if the principal was male or female. The reasons they gave confirmed that there is still a strong belief that positions of responsibility should be reserved for men. Although the school has moved from these stereotypes, the male parents' responses show that there

is a lot to be done towards conscientizing the community regarding the gender of administrators. Liberal feminists argue that programmes of change should be set by the belief that individuals should have occupations and positions that are based on their ability and nothing else (Measor and Sikes, 1992).

On gender equality, both students and teachers agreed that students should be and are treated equally in the school. However, the understanding and perception of “equality” needs to be revisited. For example, students in this sample perceived equal treatment in terms of doing the same duties and also receiving the same punishment. Parents perceived equal treatment in terms of equal opportunities availed to men and women in issues such as education, finances, land acquisition and sharing of duties and responsibilities. When asked if they believed in gender equality, all the parents, both male and female, responded in the affirmative.

Lever (1976), cited by Thorne (1992) observed that boys moved in age heterogeneous groups while girls moved in small groups or friendship pairs. My observation showed that this was the case in this school. During the morning and lunch breaks boys moved in age-heterogeneous groups and girls moved in friendship pairs or individually. The sitting or standing arrangement at assembly was also sex-segregated, that is, girls stood or sat at the front while boys stood or sat at the back. This seemed to be a deliberate arrangement, since this was the case with all the classes. The girls were expected to sit or stand separately from the boys. However, the reason for this was not clear.

Lastly, it is encouraging to note that this shift towards gender equality is not only observed in this school. Salisbury and Riddell (eds) (2000) also observed a shift in agendas and altered emphasis in relation to equal opportunities policy-making and practice. This shift, they observed, has shaped, to some degree, girls’ improved examination participation and performance.

7.3. Value of this research

This study has shown that there is some progress in this one school, as far as gender equality is concerned, and that this may be an indication that there may be a trend in the direction of more gender equitable education in Swaziland’s schools.

I hope to make the findings of my study available not only to this particular school but to all the stakeholders in the education ministry; hoping that after reading it this will be a stepping stone towards awareness raising on the importance of gender equality, not only in this particular school, but other schools as well and may spur them on to make means available to improve the level of gender equality in Swaziland in general. It is encouraging to those committed to creating a more equal society.

7.4. Limitations of the study

One of the limitations of this study is that it was carried out in two classes in one urban school. The findings, therefore, may not be a basis for generalization for the other classes in the school and all schools in Swaziland. Further research will need to be carried out in the other classes and more schools, both urban and rural. Differences between urban and rural schools might be extreme. Urban schools are sometimes influenced by Western educational practices. Comparative work in rural schools would show the extent to which the findings might be generalizable to the whole country.

Another limitation of this study is that the collected data could only really show gender equality at the Liberal feminism level, in dealing with questions of access, equality of treatment, fairness etc. It did not lend itself to analysis through other schools of feminism, such as Radical feminism, Socialist feminism, Psychoanalytic feminism, Postmodern feminism and Third World feminism.

Some findings point to further implications that these schools of feminism may be able to uncover. For example, there is the apparent lack of career streaming, which does not seem to support socialist feminist views. The sport streaming, however, as well as the role diversification around chores, do lend some support to psychoanalytical feminists' views.

Secondly, the notable emphasis on corporal punishment also points to a deeply patriarchal environment, which indicates conditions that would probably only be surfaced by a Psychoanalytical or Radical feminist approach. There are also

indications in the data of internalized sexism, which require further unpacking in future studies.

To some extent, the findings of this study may have been influenced by the voluntary nature of the interviews conducted. This limitation was, however, overcome to some degree with the case study method, which allowed for my personal observation of teaching and school activities, and my perusal of school documentation. The final conclusions about gender equality in the school are, therefore, a composite impression that does not depend solely on the responses of students, teachers and parents.

Finally, this thesis has not explored the extent to which this education is structured through Western systems, which may position African people negatively by accentuating the “superiority” of Western systems over African practices. From this view, “progress” towards Liberal feminist practices may, at a subtle level, be undermining of more African-centred approach to education. However, such an analysis is beyond this thesis, but may point to the value of approaching such a study from a Third World feminist perspective.

7.5. Recommendations for further research

- Further research should be done with other classes in the same school, especially the senior classes, to get the responses of the older students and the other teachers on the issue of gender equality.
- Further research should be done in other schools, to be able to make a general assessment of the way gender equality is perceived nationwide, and being able to make a comparison of gender socialization in rural and urban schools.
- Workshops and awareness raising campaigns should be conducted for teachers, school administrators, curriculum developers as well as policy makers to research the issue of gender equality in the schools.
- Other projects may wish to emphasize one of the other feminist paradigms.

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APPENDICES

9.1 APPENDIX ONE STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL DIRECTIONS

ON THESE PAGES, YOU WILL FIND QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF, YOUR SUBJECTS, YOUR TEACHERS AND YOUR EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES. SOME QUESTIONS ASK FOR FACTS WHILE OTHER QUESTIONS ASK FOR YOUR OPINION. PLEASE ANSWER AS ACCURATELY AND CAREFULLY AS POSSIBLE. YOU MAY ASK FOR HELP IF YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND SOMETHING OR ARE NOT SURE HOW TO ANSWER.

A. ABOUT YOU

1. GENDER

| | |
|------|--------|
| MALE | FEMALE |
|------|--------|

2. AGE

3. GRADE

B. ABOUT THE SUBJECTS YOU STUDY

1. WRITE DOWN THE FIVE (5) SUBJECTS YOU ENJOY STUDYING MOST,
IN

ORDER OF PRIORITY:

i _____

ii _____

iii _____

iv _____

v _____

2. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE THE SUBJECTS YOU MENTIONED ABOVE?

c. ABOUT CLASSROOM INTERACTION

1. DO YOU FEEL YOU GET ENOUGH OPPORTUNITY TO BE INVOLVED IN
ACTIVITIES? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

3. ARE THE CLASS ACTIVITIES USUALLY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP
ACTIVITIES?

4. DO THE GROUP ACTIVITIES INVOLVE GROUPS OF BOYS AND GIRLS
WORKING TOGETHER OR BOYS AND GIRLS WORKING SEPERATELY?

D. ABOUT EXTRA-CURRICULA ACTIVITIES

1.(a) WHICH SPORT(S) DO YOU TAKE PART IN AT SCHOOL?

(b) IS THE SPORT MEANT FOR BOYS ONLY, GIRLS ONLY OR BOTH
BOYS AND GIRLS?

(c) IF THE SPORT IS FOR BOYS OR GIRLS ONLY, WOULD YOU LIKE BOTH
BOYS AND GIRLS TO TAKE PART IN THE SPORT? WHY?

(d) WHAT OTHER SPORTS ARE OFFERED AT YOUR SCHOOL?

(e) DO YOU THINK THE SPORTS YOU MENTIONED IN (d) SHOULD BE FOR BOYS OR GIRLS ONLY OR FOR BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS. EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

E ABOUT YOUR TEACHERS

I. DO YOU ENJOY BEING TAUGHT BY MALE OR FEMALE TEACHERS? GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER.

F. ABOUT GENDER EQUALITY

1. DO YOU THINK BOYS AND GIRLS SHOULD BE TREATED EQUALLY AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL? GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER.

2. DO YOU THINK YOUR TEACHERS (INCLUDING THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL) TREAT BOYS AND GIRLS EQUALLY IN YOUR SCHOOL? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

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@@

THANK YOU FOR THE THOUGHT AND EFFORT YOU HAVE PUT INTO ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS. I WISH YOU WELL IN ALL THAT YOU DO.

9.2. APPENDIX TWO

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL DIRECTIONS

ON THESE PAGES, YOU WILL FIND QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF, THE SUBJECTS YOU TEACH, EXTRA - CURRICULA ACTIVITIES AND ABOUT YOUR LEARNERS. SOME QUESTIONS ASK FOR FACTS WHILE OTHER QUESTIONS ASK FOR YOUR OPINION. PLEASE ANSWER AS ACCURATELY AND CAREFULLY AS POSSIBLE.

FOR SOME OF THE QUESTIONS YOU ARE ASKED TO PUT AN **X** IN THE BOX OPPOSITE THE ANSWER YOU HAVE. FOR OTHER QUESTIONS YOU ARE ASKED TO ANSWER IN A SENTENCE OR A PARAGRAPH.

A. ABOUT YOU

(Please put an X on the appropriate square)

1. GENDER

| | |
|------|--------|
| MALE | FEMALE |
|------|--------|

2 .AGE

| | | |
|---------|---------|--------------|
| 20 - 25 | 25 - 30 | 30 and above |
|---------|---------|--------------|

B. ABOUT THE SUBJECTS YOU TEACH

1. WHICH SUBJECTS DO YOU TEACH?

2. WHY DO YOU TEACH THE SUBJECTS YOU MENTIONED IN 1

3. DO YOU THINK THESE SSUBJECTS SHOULD BE DONE BY BOYS ONLY, GIRLS ONLY OR BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS? GIVE REASONS FOR YOURANSWER .

C. ABOUT CLASSROOM INTERACTION

1 DO YOU THINK YOU GIVE YOUR LEARNERS ENOUGH OPPORTUNITY TO BE INVOLVED IN CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

2. ARE THE CLASS ACTIVITIES USUALLY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP ACTIVITIES?

3. DO THE GROUP ACTIVITIES INVOLVE GROUPS OF BOYS AND GIRLS WORKING TOGETHER OR BOYS AND GIRLS WORKING SEPERATELY?

D. ABOUT EXTRA- CURRICULA ACTIVITIES

1(a) WHICH SPORTS ARE BEING OFFERED AT YOUR SCHOOL?

(b) ARE THE SPORTS YOU MENTIONED IN 1(a) MEANT FOR BOYS ONLY, GIRLS ONLY, OR BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS?

(c) IF THE SPORT IS FOR BOYS OR GIRLS ONLY, WOULD YOU LIKE BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS TO TAKE PART IN THE SPORT? GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER.

2. (a) WHICH OTHER EXTRA- CURRICULA ACTIVITIES ARE OFFERED BESIDE SPORTS?

(b) DO YOU THINK THE ACTIVITIES YOU MENTIONED IN 2 (a) SHOULD BE BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

E. ABOUT YOUR LEARNERS

1. DO YOU ENJOY TEACHING BOYS OR GIRLS? GIVE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER.

F. ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

1. WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR SCHOOL PRINCIPAL TO BE MALE OR FEMALE? EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER.

[illegible]

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND EFFORT YOU HAVE PUT INTO
ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS. I WISH YOU WELL IN ALL THAT YOU
DO.

9.3 APPENDIX THREE

STUDENTS' INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. HOW OLD ARE YOU? _____

2. DO YOU HAVE BROTHERS AND SISTERS? IF SO, HOW MANY?

3(a) WHAT ARE THE BOYS' DUTIES AT YOUR HOME?

(b) WHAT ARE THE GIRLS' DUTIES AT YOUR HOME?

3. DO YOU THINK THERE SHOULD BE SPECIAL DUTIES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS OR ANYONE SHOULD DO ANY DUTY? EXPLAIN.

4. AT SCHOOL, DO YOU ENJOY BEING TAUGHT BY MALE OR FEMALE TEACHERS? WHY?

5. WHICH 5 SUBJECTS DO YOU ENJOY STUDYING MOST (in order of

Preference)? EXPLAIN YOUR PREFERENCE.

6. IN THE CLASSROOM, DO YOU FEEL TEACHERS PAY MORE ATTENTION TO GIRLS OR BOYS? EXPLAIN.

7. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE TEXTBOOKS? DO THEY RELATE TO BOYS AND GIRLS THE SAME WAY, OR DO THEY RELATE TO ONE GENDER ? EXPLAIN.

8. DO YOU FEEL THAT THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL SHOULD BE MALE OR FEMALE? EXPLAIN.

9.4 APPENDIX FOUR

OBSERVATION GUIDELINES

1. IN THE CLASSROOM

(a) LEARNERS' SITTING ARRANGEMENT

(boys on one side, girls on one side, mixed sitting)

LEARNER-TEACHER INTERACTION

(teacher attention to boys and girls, time given to each gender)

(b) LEARNER-LEARNER INTERACTION

(turn-taking, class activities etc)

(c) USE OF THE TEXTBOOK, CHARTS AND OTHER LEARNING AIDS

(who reads from book and charts, writes on the board and uses learning aids?)

2. OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

(a) AT ASSEMBLY

(sitting/ standing arrangement, who starts songs etc)

(b) IN THE PLAYGROUND

(games played by boys, games played by girls, mixed group games, who is in charge)

3. IN THE STAFFROOM

(a) TEACHERS' SITTING ARRANGEMENT

(b) TEACHER-TEACHER INTERACTION

(c) TEACHER-PRINCIPAL INTERACTION

(d) TEA-TIME

(who is in charge of making tea?)

4. PREFECTS/HEAD PREFECT

(male only, female only, mixed)

5. SCHOOL DOCUMENTS

(a) CORRESPONDENCE FROM PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

(circulars, notices, etc)

(b) SCHEME BOOKS, PREPARATION BOOKS, LEARNERS' REPORTS,
TEST/EXAM PAPERS, etc.

9.5 APPENDIX FIVE
PARENTS' GROUP DISCUSSION

1. DO YOU BELIEVE IN EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN?

2. WHAT DO YOU UNDERSTAND BY EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN?

3. WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE SUBJECTS DONE BY YOUR CHILDREN AT SCHOOL? DO YOU THINK THERE SHOULD BE SUBJECTS FOR BOYS OR GIRLS ONLY, OR SHOULD BOYS AND GIRLS BE GIVEN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE ANY SUBJECT OF THEIR LIKING?

4. WOULD YOU MIND IF YOUR DAUGHTER DID SUBJECTS LIKE

WOODWORK AND ENGINEERING OR YOUR SON DID SUBJECTS LIKE HOME ECONOMICS AND DRESSMAKING?

5. WHAT WOULD BE THE ADVANTAGE OR DISADVANTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS BEING GIVEN THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES AT SCHOOL?

6. WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT ACCESS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS TO COLLEGES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING?

7. DOES IT MATTER IF THE HEADTEACHER OF A SCHOOL IS MALE OR FEMALE?
